The Misunderstanding between the Church and the News Media with special focus on how the Church in Canterbury has been portrayed in the daily newspapers

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Abstract

This thesis examines the church in Canterbury losing its authority as a result of secularisation and how this process was reflected in the Canterbury daily newspapers; *The Press*, the *Lyttelton Times* and *The Star*. This research takes the form of content analysis and covers the period from 1880 to 2000. The focus is on what has been reported in the newspapers about the church and why media interest has declined in the church as a news topic. This will be discussed in the context of the effects of secularisation: the church's reluctance to acknowledge the secular forces of change and the journalists'acceptance of these changes, resulting in the style of journalism needing to alter. This changed style of journalism has caused the church to be reported in a different way which most church representatives find unsatisfactory. This has contributed to the church being distrustful and critical of journalists. This thesis argues that the misunderstanding and distance between church leaders and the news media can be resolved.

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Introduction

"The public image of major social institutions, including religion, depends largely on their media portrayal (Lichter and Amundson 2000).

According to many church leaders in New Zealand, the media portrayal of religion is far from satisfactory. Many church leaders complain that the media are not interested in church news. They say that the church does so much good in the community; why do the newspapers focus on negativity instead? Many church leaders complain that the media distort what the church says, they print things the church did not say and they 'sensationalize' a lot of issues. Many church leaders have become distrustful of journalists.

Rationale

The purpose of this research is to find out why the church finds the media so unsatisfactory. It is important that the church does feature in the newspapers because, contrary to the generally held negative image of the church, many church leaders is concerned about current important issues. Many church groups are vibrant and welcoming communities. This thesis will discover why the church is stereotyped negatively, why newspapers print so little about the church, and why what they publish is negative and 'sensational'.

Objectives and Scope of Study

This research examines what makes the church newsworthy and which events get the church into news. It will also investigate if the church has always been of little interest to the news media. If the church was reported a lot more in the colonial newspapers, why was this? What factors contributed to the media changing the way they report the church? Why do some church groups feature in the news and others not? These questions are addressed in this thesis.

The reasons why the media report religion in a way which is unsatisfactory to the church have to be investigated within the context of the church's status and role in society. This research focuses on Canterbury, from its colonial beginnings to the twenty-first century.

In the issues to be explored are firstly, the fact that Canterbury was planned as an Anglican colony. The clergy were given an important role to guide and integrate the community. However, they failed to do this. The main reason for the church's failure is said to be 'secularisation'. However, the church's failure to lead can not be entirely blamed on secular forces. Therefore, this thesis shall examine the church's reaction to the changes wrought by secularisation

One aspect of secularisation, which is beyond the scope of this thesis is the theory, held by various historians, that many of the immigrants belonged to the working classes who had no religion. This theory is disputed by

The privatisation of faith is considered in terms of people seeking a faith which they feel comfortable with, outside the traditional church. There is no space to discuss the complexity of the privatisation of faith in the context of it being compartmentalised and separated from the rest of a person's life. This aspect can extend to religion being compartmenatalised and separate from being operative in the community. Thus separated, religion's potential is controlled and unable to cause any radical social change Veitch 1980: 187: 227). Another aspect of privatisation not discussed is that this could be a reason journalists feel awkward about religion and, therefore, ignore it (Forbes Orwig 1999: 3; Dart and Allen 1993: 13).

This thesis explores how these changes affected the church's depiction in Canterbury's daily newspapers and what the media consider to be newsworthy. However, space does not allow discussion of the differences between the nature and role of the church and the media.

Methodology

Content analysis is used to test the hypothesis that the church's authority has declined due to secular forces. In this thesis, the 'church' and 'church groups' will be defined as the traditional mainstream denominations, the Anglican, Catholic and Protestant churches.

According to Baran (1999: 352), content analysis is used in mass communication studies to analyse media content. Content analysis is used in this research to measure the number of times church articles occur in the Canterbury daily newspapers. The frequency of church stories suggests how much of an impact they have on readers. Content analysis is used to measure the attitude changes of the media towards the church. It also indicates trends of media interest over long periods of time; in this case, 120 years.

Baran claims that content analysis has three drawbacks. Firstly, it considers only the fact that the church has been reported. It ignores the background motives. In an effort to overcome this limitation, this thesis considers other criteria which determine why the church is reported. Aspects of newsworthiness, for example, are discussed in chapters two and three. In chapter four, the opinions of journalists will be considered.

A second drawback of content analysis is that it "does not explain why a certain a certain type of content exists" (Baran 1999: 352). Again, this thesis draws on discussions from the chapters mentioned above in an effort to address the inherent limitations of content analysis. A third drawback of content analysis is that it "does not explain what effect a certain type of content has on the audience" (ibid).

Data Sets

This thesis analyses samples of religious news during the period beginning from the settlement of Canterbury in the 1880s, until the turn of the twenty first century. The content analysis is confined to newspapers because they are the only continuing mass medium during the time frame from 1800 to 2000.

In order to discover how much the newspapers reported about the church, the relevant articles that appeared in *The Press* and *The Star* in the years 1880, 1920, 1960 and 2000 were counted for six monthly periods, from March through to August. *The Lyttelton Times* has also been analysed in the same manner for the years 1880 and 1920 for the same six-monthly period. This newspaper ceased operation after 1920. Over the years, *The Star* has changed its name several times. To avoid confusion, it is referred to simply *The Star* throughout this thesis.

The span of 40 years approximates the gap of a generation during which significant changes can occur. This thesis looks at these changes occurring within the church, between the church and the community and how these changes are reflected in the Cantabrian daily newspapers.

The data sets include stories about non-traditional faiths, such as the Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses. The reason for this is to investigate why they are of media interest.

Also included are articles about non-Christian faiths, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists. The purpose is to discover if the media show an increased interest in these faiths because, for example, of international issues. The data sets do not include news about Maori Missions and Maori churches because this thesis does not discuss Maori issues.

Interviews

The interviews were mostly done face-to-face, a few by telephone and some through email.

a) In order to gain further insight into the ways the church has been reported in Canterbury's daily newspapers during the period from 1880 to 2000, interviews with journalists were conducted. The journalists were also asked for their responses to the criticisms church people have of media reportage.

The editors and reporters I interviewed were Bob Cotton, chief reporter of *The Star* from 1989 until the end of 2003, the last two years of which he doubled as editor. I also spoke to David Gee, who was chief reporter for *The Star* during the 1960s, then sub-editor of a British newspaper. He returned to *The Star* in Christchurch in 1991. From 1994 until the year 2000, he was religion reporter for *The Press*. I spoke also to Binney Lock, who began as general reporter for *The Press* in the early 1950s. From 1959 until 1961 he was London correspondent for *The Press*, then parliamentary reporter before he wrote editorials. In 1974 he became assistant editor, then editor from 1978 until 1991. I spoke to Michael Vance, former editor of *The Timaru Herald*, now associate editor of *The Press* and Bruce Rennie, current literary editor of *The Press*.

b) Church representatives were also interviewed in order to obtain insight into their experiences with and opinions about journalists and the news media. The questions they were asked were borrowed from American and Australian surveys about the relationship between the church and the media. These questions were used as a comparison with the New Zealand situation.

The 'church people' I interviewed have been categorised into three main groups. Most of these church representatives actively engage the news media, a few do not. The first group are (mainly Anglican) clergy,: Maurice Goodall, who was City Missioner, Dean of Christchurch Cathedral then Bishop, now retired; John Bluck, then a high profile Dean of Christchurch Cathedral, now Bishop of Waiapu; Mike Hawke, parish priest, who, although he is not in a recognised and prominent position, such as Dean or City Missioner, believes that the church should have a voice in the media and has articles published in *The Press*. I spoke to Peter Minson, also a parish priest, who was a Radio New Zealand broadcaster, reporter then sub-editor for *The Press* and talk-back host for an Auckland radio station. I thought it relevant to interview Lloyd Geering who features in this thesis although he says, he "is sure the media does not see him as representing the church and neither does the church". But he has had considerable experience with the news media. Although the large evangelical churches do not feature in the data sets, I thought it relevant to interview Max Palmer, administrator for the New Life Churches of New Zealand and the Associated Pentecostal Churches and Mike Dodge, a youth worker.

The second group of 'church people' I interviewed are the media officers employed by Anglican and Catholic churches: Liz Grant, a journalist, Julanne Clarke-Morris for the Anglican church and Lyndsay Freer, also a journalist for the Catholic church.

During the course of this research, there was much newspaper coverage about Islam following the September 11th terrorism attacks. For this reason, I interviewed Ola Kamel, spokesperson for the Muslim Association in Canterbury.

The third group of 'church people' I interviewed are leaders of the large church communities involved in community and social work programmes and their media officers. These include the city missions, Presbyterian Support and the Salvation Army who have a relatively high social profile. They differ from clergy in that they are known by their 'good works' and, according to Rev. David Morrell, are seen to be different from the church by the community. I spoke to Rev. David Morrell, (then City Missioner) and his media officer, Barry Corbett; Rev. John Elvidge, (director of Presbyterian Support and a media contributor); Salvation Army Commander Campbell Roberts, and Major David Bennett, (Territorial Public Relations and Communications Secretary for the Salvation Army, Wellington); John Gardner, (Public Relations Officer for the Salvation Army, North Canterbury) and Public Relations Officer for the Methodist Mission, Canadian journalist, Mike O'Dwyer.

Chapter Summaries

The first two chapters provide the background for the research of newspaper interest in the church. Chapter One describes the church's relationship to the community. Chapter Two discusses newsworthiness. Which events, people and organisations are of media interest? The theoretical ieas about 'news values' are integral to this chapter.

Chapter Three analyses the four data sets using content research. This chapter shows what the media consider to be newsworthy.

Chapter Four consists of two sections. Section 4.1 consists of interviews conducted with journalists about the findings the data sets showed. The second section 4.2 discusses interviews with church people and their opinions of, and experiences with the news media. These are responded to by journalists.

Chapter One

Secularisation and the Decline of Church Authority

Introduction

This chapter examines how the forces of secularisation diminished the authority and standing of the traditional church in Canterbury, focusing on the period from the year 1880 until the year 2000. It begins by looking at the effects of secularisation on the Anglican Church in England during the late eighteenth century. The Industrial Revolution was said to have wrought secular changes which the Anglican church found threatening to its authority (Brown 2001: 16-34). According to Allan Davidson, historian and Peter Lineham, senior lecturer in history, Massey University (1987: 92), this resulted in the formation of the Canterbury Association in 1848. The Association planned to transplant an Anglican settlement in New Zealand away from the threatening secular forces (Belich (historian) 1996: 179). The first settlers were farewelled by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a service at St Paul's Cathedral (Bohan 1998: 25-8) and arrived in Canterbury in 1850 (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92).

However, this Anglican dream was not realised. This chapter shows how the forces of secularisation, which the Anglican church had hoped to escape from, in fact gathered momentum and diminished the church's authority in New Zealand.

In this thesis secularisation is defined as the church losing its authority in society. According to Chaves (1994:750, cited in Jameison 1998: 110), secularisation is "best understood not as a decline of religion but as the declining scope of religious authority". This chapter considers how secular forces have eroded the church's authority in all sections of the community, not only in issues of faith and belief. It also looks at how the church's interaction in the community has resulted in its loss of authority in all areas of society. The first area to be discussed will be materialism.

This chapter illustrates that the church's religious authority in the community was diminished, not only by secular forces, but also in the church's failure to lead in the community. It studies the clergy adjusting to colonial Canterbury and the issue of sectarian rivalry. Also to be discussed is how the church's behaviour in the Bible in Schools and the Prohibition campaigns contributed to the church losing credibility and respect. It will examine how this continued to deteriorate during the war years. The church's waning authority was reflected in government legislative changes in moral and social issues.

This chapter then examines how the church's religious authority declined further through its involvement with the Labour Party. Also to be considered is how plurality within the church affected its involvement with the state in dealing with moral legislation and social concerns. This is followed by a discussion of how pluralism is an indicator of the church's loss of authority in personal faith and belief.

This chapter also considers how the church has failed to maintain authority in relation to scholarship. It discusses how the church has dealt with scientific knowledge and critical inquiry and how this has affected the public. A related issue addressed in this chapter is the privatisation of religion, notably in the context of people leaving the church in pursuit of their own spiritual needs. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the traditional church's declining authority being reflected in the census figures.

Lastly, this chapter discusses how the church's failed role in guiding and unifying the colony was achieved by the newspapers.

1.1 Historical Background

The secularisation theory first emerged amongst Anglican English clergy from the 1790s to 1820s (Brown (2001: 16-34). These clergy, anxious because their congregations were diminishing, claimed that the Industrial Revolution and urbanisation were the cause of decline in religion, the rise of immorality and an increasingly complex and disharmonious society. However, the Church of England was more concerned about losing its authority over the people - its tenants and tradespeople, as industrial towns began springing up. These social changes occurred simultaneously with agricultural improvement, thus giving people increasing independence from the church (ibid).

A further threat to the Anglican church's authority was the rising popularity of Methodism and the dissenting churches. They increased rapidly as the industrial villages sprang up (Brown 2001: passim). The Church of England blamed the dissenting churches as the cause of religious decline. From the 1790s, the established churches viewed the industrial towns as irreligious and pagan (ibid). By the nineteenth century the irreligious and pagan town discourse had so intensified that it had become a central tenet, not only of the Anglican church, but also of the Methodists and dissenters (ibid).

As secularisation forces in England continued to threaten the Anglican church's authority, the church and members of the English upper classes formed the Canterbury Association in 1848 (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92.) The Association consisted of a body of High Anglican clergy and laity including members of parliament, led by a Tory and High Anglican, John Robert Godley (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92; Davidson 1991: 51; Bohan 1998: 25). The Canterbury Association planned to transfer a traditional and unchanging Church of England settlement to Canterbury, New Zealand (Belich 1996: 174-183; Bohan 1998: 25; Bassett 1993: 39; Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92).

Historians (King 2003: 17; Belich 1996: 179-183; Davidson 1991: 51-2; Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92) assert that the Association bought Edward Gibbon Wakefield's colonisation plan. Unlike his other colonies which were fraught with tensions, Wakefield's plan for Canterbury was for clergy to take a

leading role in establishing the colony. Settlers were expected to be committed church members (Bassett 1993: 52; Belich 1996: 437; Davidson 1991: 51).

The clergy was to educate and guide those in the new colony, particularly the emmigrants, many of whom were not part of the Association plan, but were of the working classes who hoped for better economic and social conditions (Bohan 1998: 25). (Cholmondeley 1854: 13-43; Davidson 1991: 52).

The church's role was considered an important one in establishing the colony. Breward quotes Dr John Harré (1966: 79), that 'religion has several key functions in society. It helps groups integrate, and provides a symbolic expression of group identity. Religion is the most potent means of controlling the actions of group members within an accepted system of morality and values'. This system of religion could have been adapted to New Zealand if the clergy, writes Harre, had realised the important differences between Britain and the colony (Breward 1980: 73,79; Webster and Perry 1989:11).

1.1.1 First Settlers

The first settlers arrived in Canterbury in 1851 (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92). However, the hopes of the Church of England to re-establish its authority in a colonial settlement were not realised. During the voyage out to New Zealand, church traditions and observances weakened considerably. Enforced idleness on board ship resulted in routines breaking down and moral conventions being relaxed. Religious services lacked solemnity and regularity due to there being no chapel (Jackson 1987:23). The upheaval from home, the intermixing of classes and denominations contributed to the losing of reverence for the traditional church. Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, Michael Grimshaw (1999: 149 claims that denominational prejudices were broken down) resulting in friendships, which did not consider denomination or class, being formed. The majority of migrants thus became divorced from their old habits and were more focused on working the land and improving their lot (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 92; Cholomondeley 1854: 270-2; Davidson 1991: 30).

As early as 1860 the original plans of the Canterbury Association had become unknown to most people living in Canterbury (Bohan 1998: 173-92; Davidson and Lineham 1987: 93). The hopes of the Canterbury Association for an Anglican colony away from the threats of secularisation forces in Britain were not realised. This was partly because the Anglican clergy had failed to guide in establishing the community. Also, many of the immigrants were Methodists or had no church affiliation (Davidson 1991:52).

1.1.2 The Impact of Materialism

Stenhouse, senior lecturer in History, University of Otago (1993: 36) suggests that although the Christian faith played a large role in shaping beliefs and behaviour, the focus for most settlers was to

build their lives and improve their lot. Thus, church attendance was not a priority. As a colonial resident in Canterbury, Cholmondeley writes that making money and comradeship took priority over old habits which were left behind in Britain (Cholmondeley 1854: 270-2; Jackson 1987:42; Davidson 1991: 30; Davidson and Lineham 1987: 93). People chose to improve their living conditions instead of giving their time and money to the church. When Bishop Selwyn, the first and only Bishop of New Zealand, visited the 'Canterbury pilgrims' in January, 1851, a few months after their arrival, he was disappointed to find that money had been spent on civil engineering, rather than on churches and schools (Davidson 1991: 52). Lloyd Geering, former Principal of Knox College, Dunedin, then Professor of Religious Studies, Victoria University (1980:163), asserts that these 'Canterbury pilgrims' thus reflected the erosion of church authority, illustrating another interpretation of secularisation, that the pilgrims were "religiously neutral", with their focus on the "visible, tangible, physical, temporal world".

Materialism was a contributing factor to indifference towards clergy and church attendance. This is expressed in letter from 'Up Country' in the *Lyttelton Times* in 1863:

> Already, numbers have got the idea that they can do well without religion; that if they do nobody any harm it is no-one's business how they spend the Sabbath. Epithets towards the clergy I will not repeat. (L.T. 28/1/1863, p5) (cited in Grimshaw 1999:150-1).

> ...whether the cause be apathy to the concerns of the church, or whether the root of the evil lies deeper and takes its rise in dull indifference to religion - the result of a widely spread indifference to religion - the result of a widely spread material prosperity - it is certain that the evil of spiritual destitution exists (ibid.4); (Grimshaw 1999:150-1)

According to James Veitch, Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, Victoria University (1983: 187-8), the indifference to religion due to the pursuits of materialism is one of the secular forces which diminished the Anglican character and orientation of colonial Canterbury. Laurie Barber, Senior Lecturer in History, University of Waikato (1980: 21-5), claims that the focus on materialism intensified after the two World Wars. Soldiers returned with materialistic ambitions. Wives, having joined the work force, had lost touch with the Church.

1.1.3 Clergy in Colonial Canterbury

Another contributing factor to the indifference towards Anglican clergy and church attendance was that clergy had difficulty adapting to pioneering conditions. For example, they had to adjust to being without the state support they had enjoyed in England as an Established church. The pioneering

difficulties resulted in many church leaders returning to England, resulting in a continuing shortage of clergy to cover the large areas. An added difficulty for ministers to perform any leading role in forming a religious community was the shifting populations. These factors contributed to the church being sidelined in the community (Breward 1985: 67-8; Bohan 1998: 60; Jackson 1987: 25-6, 41-2; Davidson 1991: 30).

Another contributing factor to the church losing its authority was that without state support, the Anglican church depended financially on its parishioners. Many parishioners were focused on coping as pioneers and were not willing or able to give of their time or money to support a parish (Jackson 1987: 32). The church thus lost the respect of many of its adherents, some of whom even regarded clergy as hirelings. They would threaten clergy by withdrawing their financial support if clergy went against their wishes, for example building a church in an area not pleasing to them. Thus clergy were reluctant to retain their religious authority and role in the community because they were dependent on their stipends (Jackson 1987: 31-2).

The plan for the clergy to lead in producing a cohesive society did not eventuate (Davidson 1991: 51). Alan Webster (1989: 8-9) faults the Anglican church for failing to have well formulated socio-political plans or moral and ideological initiatives for various components of the colony. Historians such as Webster attribute this to the fact that much of the colonial population did not attend Church, as few as 20 percent, according to the 1851 census. Another suggested reason is that the church was more committed to its regular adherents (Webster and Perry 1989: 9).

However, Evans (1992: 20) suggests that the church did play a fundamental role in shaping the colony. 'Consciously or not, most people behave according to ethics which are essentially Christian'.

1.1.4 Sectarian Rivalry

Another reason for the church failing to form a cohesive society could be that it was distracted by its own inner conflicts. Historians such as Rollo Arnold (one time Professor of Education, Victoria University), allege that denominational rivalry was strong and began on board ship (Arnold 1983:77). But Jackson writes that denominational conflicts were more prevalent in the larger towns, and were only episodic. It was the ill-feeling generated by these outbursts which spoiled the spirit of ecumenism (Jackson 1987:94-7; King 2003:177).

Denominational rivalry continued which led to the government legislating the neutrality of religion in the 1877 Education Act. The government's intention was not anti-religious, says Breward (1967: 102), but to "transcend the sectarian narrowness and hostility" and to "free the churches for their proper work - nurture of the spirit". According to Geering (1983: 166-7), this sectarian controversy highlighted the

fragmented nature of the church in New Zealand. Religious pluralism (discussed later in this thesis) is a contributing factor to the secularisation process in New Zealand. According to Geering, the official recognition in 1877 of the state's intervention in dealing with sectarian rivalry describes New Zealand as a secular state, not a Christian one. A secular state is not committed to, or allied with, any religious tradition or ideology (Geering 1983: 175-6). Religious pluralism thus needed to be acknowledged by the Anglican church, despite it retaining a significant presence in Canterbury (Davidson 1991: 53).

During the 1920s and 1930s, sectarianism became less significant due to the shared sufferings of war and the 1918 influenza epidemic. However, the bitterness of the sectarian rivalry contributed to the church losing authority in society. Increasingly, people chose to seek religious sources outside the established church and regarded religion as a private issue (Davidson 1991: 105), as discussed further below.

1.1.5 Bible in Schools Movement

Following unsuccessful attempts to modify the secular clause of the 1877 Education Act, the Protestants formed the Bible in Schools Association. Although much denominational rivalry continued, the Bible in Schools movement has influenced the thinking and practice of protestant churches about national education (Breward 1967: 35). Although the New Zealand Council for Christian Education provides an agreed syllabus it has no power under the Act to enforce its syllabus (Breward 1967: 95-6).

1.1.6 Prohibition

In colonial New Zealand there were many economic and social problems associated with unemployment, poor working conditions, loneliness, drunkenness and violence (Evans 1992: 20). Non-conformist churches saw these problems as godlessness and immoral behaviour (Davidson 1991: 69; Evans 1992: 20). The Prohibition movement thus began during the 1880s and lasted for 40 years (Grigg 1981: 135-6). Gambling, prostitution and alcohol were targeted in order to achieve social and economic reform. Sunday Schools and Bible classes were seen to be an important part of the campaign (Belich 2001: 122, 157, 163; Gustafson 1980: 121; Grigg 1981: 148).

However, the Prohibition movement was not strongly supported by the Episcopalian churches who instead formed Temperance societies. They did not see alcohol as being evil, but viewed it as part of the way of life. Between 1894 and 1914, of the 59% clergy who supported prohibition, only seven percent of these were Episcopalian (Grigg 1981:140-1, 145, 153). The churches supported the Prohibition movement because they thought it would bolster their declining authority in society. This resulted in the church losing credibility and relevance in the community. The churches, consisting mainly of businessmen and professional people, showed little awareness of the nature of these problems facing the working classes (Grigg 1981: 135-7; 150-2). Barber suggests that the 'church saw itself as the God-

ordained authority in moral and legislative matters in combatting social degeneration' (1985: 20) and assumed the role of moral police (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 226). Instead of questioning the fundamental economic structure of society, the church shunned that responsibility. It chose to align itself with the state, instead of challenging it (Grigg 1981:135-50), thus diminishing its scope of religious authority.

The church's declining scope of religious authority was seen in its failure to control drunkenness and gambling. Church groups were caricatured as "killjoys", "morally judgmental" and not in sympathy with the working classes (Webster and Perry 1989: 10). In 1919, the church was being criticised for interfering in politics and for hypocrisy for their 'outwardly virtuous use of the anti-liquor, anti-gambling message as a moralistic cover for appropriating wealth' (ibid). Lineham 2000: 42, 51) comments that the prohibition campaign and the Bible-in-Schools movement caused the church to be seen as trying to use the state for godly ends. This resulted in the church losing much credibility. Subsequently, restrictive legislation came to be no longer used by Parliament in regard to moral issues. Instead, the conscience vote was favoured. According to Lineham (2000: 42), the church was trying to assert its authority in a society in which church influence was declining (Grigg 1981: 139).

However, not everyone thought that the church's scope of authority had diminished so markedly. According to Webster (1989: 3), the church played an important role in the Prohibition campaign in that the church provided the only forum to debate the social and economic problems

According to Evans (1992: 12-13), the church was responsible to the Crown and played an integral role with the government in establishing good morals (Evans 1992: 72) and in the colony's administrations, such as prayers being said at the beginning of the Legislative Council meetings and Parliament. "The Bible was used in the law courts and was supplied for edification of prisoners "(Breward 1967: 14).

According to Lineham (2000: 56), pressure was exerted on the church to conform to the state's ethical models of defining moral practice and ordering society. The church was thus valued because of expectations it would help produce law-abiding citizens, resulting in a cohesive, strong and competitive society (Stenhouse 1993: 39).

1.1.7 Church and War

During the Boer war and the two world wars, the church, in general, acquiesced with the state's war efforts and national trends. It 'identified with, reinforced and sanctified values such as patriotism, loyalty and sacrifice' (Davidson 1991: 95-103) and conformed to popular hysterical pressure (Barber 1985: 21). The state expected the church's full support, writes Lineham (2000: 51), because historically, (for example, in the Prohibition movement), the church's moral role had been seen as an asset to society. The

church thus 'failed to influence national and international values which promoted and achieved the peace it preached' (Davidson 1991: 103). The church also 'failed to denounce the persecution of émigré Germans and pacifist Jehovah's Witnesses' (Barber 1985: 21). There have been only a few isolated church people who made notable attempts to stand against national trends. During the 1920s, the Presbyterian, James Gibb, stood against the maltreatment of a German refugee. The Roman Catholic Archbishop Liston was arrested for sedition following his speech during the 1922 St Patrick's Day celebrations. The Methodist, Ormond Burton, was dismissed from teaching for making a stand against New Zealand's military actions in the1920s. Their churches did not support them in a way necessary to initiate social change (Barber 1985: 21-2; Veitch 1983: 190).

Neither did the church help people to readjust after the war, resulting in many becoming disillusioned with the church (Barber 1985: 23-5;). It failed to acknowledge its increasing irrelevance for many people (Barber 1985: 21-5; Davidson and Lineham 1987: 244-5). Following the wars the church became anxious by the decline in congregational numbers and income. Increasing materialism and secularization placed the church increasingly on the periphery (Barber 1985: 21, 25)

Christianity, however, in the form of civic religion, provided a means of remembering the impact of war. Despite this, church adherence and attendance made little progress (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 244-5). This illustrates that the state is in control of public religious expression (Veitch 1983: 190-1).

1.2 Declining Influence of the Church in Government Legislation

Christian values had been, until the 1960s, reflected in legislation, for example, in the 1954 Mazengarb Inquiry (Evans 1992: 1, 71, 88, 111). In 1940, New Zealand was still purported to be a Christian nation. In 1941 the Prime Minister, Michael Savage, in response to the Bishop of Wellington's plea for a 'close fellowship between church and state' welcomed the role of the Church in preventing the people from going "pagan" (*Outlook* 1941: 13, cited in Evans 1992: 1). 'Marriage was the norm, legislation made divorce difficult to obtain as was abortion. Homosexuality was regarded as criminal activity and liquor and gambling outlets had been restricted by time and venue' (Ahdar 2000: 65). However, Barber claims that the government supported the church's demands for keeping the Sabbath and controlling drunkenness and gambling, only in order to secure votes 1983: 155).

During the 1970s and 1980s, it became evident that there was a decline in adherence to Christian principles. Abortion, for example, was easier to obtain following the 1977 Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilization and Abortion. In 1980, Christian principles were replaced with a 'more secular' ground for divorce (Evans 1992: 212). In 1985, homosexual acts were decriminalized (ibid). De facto marriage relationships became legally recognised in 1986 (Evans 1992: 214). According to Lineham (2000: 43), the Church and State enjoyed a harmonious relationship from the 1960s through to the

1980s. But this began to deteriorate when the Labour government took a secular stand on moral issues, such as, homosexuality.

By 1990, the church's scope of religious authority had disappeared from legislation. The church no longer enjoyed a privileged position. Control had been lost over citizens from "going pagan" (Evans 1992: 2). The church was now regarded as one of many voices within a secular (Evans 1992: 2). The New Zealand legal system (Hayward V. Giordani in New Zealand Law Reform 148, 1983, cited in Evans 1992: 2) now appeals simply to the 'reasonable dictates of social facts'). The church's loss of authority was reflected in legislation of 1990 when New Zealand no longer formally recognised God as the ultimate authority in the 1990 Bill of Rights Act (Ahdar 2000: 71). This contrasts with the 1963 Bill of Rights Act which included a reference to the Deity, when reference to God was still acceptable (ibid).

Blasphemy was no longer considered to be an offence, as seen in 1998, when two of Te Papa's exhibits which offended some Christians, the Virgin in condom and a contemporary version of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper with a topless woman at the centre of the table in the place of Christ. An attempt to prosecute using the long disused criminal prohibition against blasphemous libel was refused by the Solicitor General. Such a prosecution would be 'inconsistent with the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act's protection of freedom of expression' (Ahdar 2000: 64).

Gambling has now been made attractive in its many new guises, such as Lotto, Keno and sports betting (Ahdar 2000: 65; Belich 2001: 316).
From 1965, Sundays became more secularised, with Sunday papers emerging, the first one published in 1963 (NPA 2003). In 1989, Sunday trading became legal (Belich 2001:316). The church's attempt to have Sundays revered was criticised for trying to use the State to control and regulate moral and family values. An example of a headline in the *Dominion Sunday Times* 14/3/89 reads: 'Rivals on Sunday Trade Row Cite (cited in Lineham 2000 52). Bills to repeal remaining religious based trading restrictions, such as Easter weekend, continue to come before parliament.

In recognising that the nuclear family model is no longer the norm, the Associate Minister of Justice, Lianne Dalziel, introduced the 'Care of Children Bill' to Parliament, 10/6/13 to replace the current Guardianship Act of 1968, which is now considered to be outdated. It was acknowledged that there were all types of family units which cared for children (*The Press* 11/6/03). This controversial bill seeks to allow a woman in a lesbian relationship to become a child's father (*The Press* 12/6/03). The bill is supported by two lesbian church members, one an ordained minister. They appeared before Parliament's justice and electoral law select committee (*The Press* 9/10/03). Prostitution was legalised on 25th June, 2003, according to *The Press*, 26th June, 2003.

Prostitution was legalised 25th June 2003 (*The Press* 26/6/03). An Auckland lawyer is pushing for the legal age for sexual relations to be dropped to 14 years if age (*The Press* 21/4/03). The state no longer acknowledges Christian principles in forming legislation; it is now secular. Attempts are now being made to legalise volountary euthanasia.

According to Evans (1992: 365-6), the church is no different from other institutions in its decline in membership. Despite the church now being one voice amongst many competitors, the church remains one of the few national institutions with a significant membership, paid personnel and the authority to raise issues with the state. An example is the debate about homosexuality.

1.2.1 The Church and the Labour Party

An example of the church's inability to exercise religious authority is seen in its involvement in the Labour Party. During the Depression years, the social and economic problems of the 1890s intensified. However, most church groups, being involved in the Prohibition campaign, focused on reforming the behaviour of the working classes. Generally, church groups did not associate with labour concerns or become involved in any social reform (Grigg 1981: 148, 155). According to Davidson and Lineham (1987: 226), an exception amongst church leaders was the Presbyterian minister, Dr Rutherford Waddell. In 1888 he exposed the situation of bad employment conditions in a sermon "Sin of Cheapness". His social concern was not supported by the church, but by the *Otago Daily Times* (Davidson and Lineham 1989: 226; Grigg 1981: 150).

Thus, many people felt the church had failed them. Church groups were regarded as enemies and criticised by many leaders in the labour concerns (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 221; Grigg 1981: 136, 152). Such criticism of the church made it realise it needed to change if it wished to maintain 'moral' leadership in the community over unemployment and social dislocation (Evans 1992: 24). Davidson and Lineham (1987: 226) write that when the church realised its narrowed scope of authority in regard to the working classes, the church tried to retain credibility and moral leadership by showing how Christian principles were applicable to contemporary issues, such as the Labour Party. Evans (1992: 24) writes that during the Depression of the 1920s, the church, instead of acquiescing to the state became outspoken in support of Labour about the economic crisis. However, most denominations were not willing to take a public stand on social issues except for the Methodists and Catholics who had a lot of manual workers in their congregations. In Christchurch, the focus of the Anglican church's support of the Labour party was when Bishop Julius, amidst much criticism from middle class laity, stimulated clerical concern for the needs of Labour (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 275-6).

Many church people welcomed the 1935 Labour election victory. During the 1930s the Church made an effort to influence social and economic policy and contributed to a general shift in societal attitudes

which made Labour and socialist ideas more acceptable (Davidson 1991: 105; Davidson and Lineham 1987: 242-3). This resulted in the church being accepted and respected in the community between 1914-45 (Davidson & Lineham 1987: 243). But during the 1960s and 1970s, the church withdrew much of its support from the Labour Party (Barber 1985: 25).

1.2.2 Church and State Partnership in Social Concerns

By the 1940s denominational tensions had eased considerably, resulting in the state aiding various denominations with social work and youth work (Lineham 1993: 116). During the 1950s, a new and growing area of 'church-state cooperation' began which was seen in Christian community services (Evans 1992: 188). The government provided substantial financial assistance for orphanages then residential care for the elderly and prison and hospital chaplains (Evans 1992; 83-88; Lineham 2000: 53-6). The state assisted the church with other new schemes, such as youth services and refugees. (Evans 1992: 189-94). Chaplains came to be permitted in Universities and schools following World War Two. In 1970, industrial chaplains were introduced for the purposes of good industrial relations (Lineham 2000: 56).

According to Evans, during the 1960s the church's co-operative relationship with the state concerning social issues changed to a relationship of partnership. A national welfare system was developing which incorporated non-government agencies, such as Christian social services (Evans 1992: 188). By 1966, the State provided an extensive range of assistance to the church for welfare services. The church saw itself as doing the State's work more efficiently. But one implication of the church being in partnership with the state was that the state directed the priorities and character of church social work. The church was reluctant to criticise the government or to provide any social critique of what was happening in society (Evans 1992: 198). The Church lacked the authority and financial resources to be independent of the government. However, the church preferred to remain dependent (Evans 1992: 350-3). Hence, it allowed itself to become secularised (Lineham 2000: 52)

During the 1970s and 1980s, the church and state were in a prospering partnership (Evans 1992: 324). The church received finance to further its increasing number and range of social services. However, as the welfare state grew, by the 1980s the church was no longer the only provider of social services, but one of many (Evans 1992: 335). It had come to be regarded as a charity, and in 1987 it was threatened with taxation, along with other charities (Evans 1992: 346). Both the church and charities challenged the government over this. However, the taxation did not proceed, due to opposition within government. This incident exposed the church as being concerned primarily for its own interest and privilege, as well as being unaccepting of the changing political environment. The church came to be seen as any other interest and lobby group which had been affected by the Labour government changes. The church had lost its special privileged position with the State (Evans 1992: 346-9).

By 1990, the institutional aspect of the church-state relationship had changed due to the community being more involved in the responsibility of social welfare, such as the establishing of food banks. The former 'partnership' with the state disappeared and church agencies became contractors in providing public services due to the free market philosophy of the State from 1988 (Evans 1992: 350-3). According to (Hoover and Lundby 1997: 179), the church maintained its privileged social position because of its role in providing non-commercial social services. Many churches were unable to adapt to competing in a commercial field. This also indicates an effect of materialism being a force which has displaced the church.

1.2.3 Church Plurality

Although the church's scope of authority has narrowed considerably, in the mid-1980s it was still powerful enough to emerge as a source of political and social power in challenging moral legislation (Evans 1992: 282; Hoover and Lundby 1997: 17). But church protest against moral laws is not strong because of diversity of opinion within the church. This was illustrated by the debate over the 1986 homosexual law reform (Lineham 1993: 114) when strong opposing moral arguments were presented. Divisions within the church thus made it difficult to convey an authoritative voice (Lineham 1993: 114; 2001 52; Evans 1992: 281). The lack of consensus within churches indicated that each group was an interest group with its own understanding of moral issues (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 342).

The indecisiveness within the churches, however, does not dampen the zeal with which they (particularly the conservative and fundamentalist groups) campaign against moral issues, such as abortion, pornography and the homosexual law reform during the 1970s and 80s. Such actions showed that the church does not always acquiesce with government policies (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 342-4), and that church is alive enough to put up a fight.

A further indication of diversity within the church was illustrated when the deputy leader of the Opposition National Party, Gerry Brownlee was reported to have accused Anglican and Catholic bishops for 'failing as "moral leaders" of society' (*The Press*, 2/3/04). The bishops, he said, did not speak up against legalising prostitution or lowering the legal drinking age.

Divided church opinions result in the church failing to exercise a political voice (Lineham 1993: 114). Many church members dislike clergy taking socially active roles. They criticise such clergy for doing so without evidence of support of their church adherents (Davidson 1991: 154). Such people probably feel uncomfortable by the news media making socially active clergy noticeable. Hence, the church is rendered 'impotent as an instrument of change'. According to Lineham (2000: 52), the most effective church protests occurred when the State was unsure of its own moral ground. An example was when the church gained sympathy for opposing the Vietnam war because of the hesitation of the National government.

1.3 Pluralism

Pluralism is a strong indicator of the traditional church having lost its authority (Donovan 1983: 234, 236-7). In 1973, the state recognised New Zealand being pluralistic, according to the first Annual Report of Race Relations Conciliator (cited in Evans 1992: 3), by which Sir Guy Powles recognised the dominance of "white Anglo-Saxon spiritual ideals and practices "had to end, in order to recognise and accept other cultures in New Zealand's formal structures. Pluralism acknowledges there is no one authority for religious beliefs (Donovan 1983: 236-7). New Zealand needed to recognise that within a single society existed a variety of traditions, cultures, practices and beliefs where the Christian religion is no longer granted a privileged position (Evans 1992: 210-1).

The proliferation of non-traditional forms of religion emphasizes that the church has lost its religious authority. The traditional church's diminishing authority motivates it to refute the non-traditional forms of religion. Such groups are the Mormons and the Jehovah's Witnesses. According to Hill (1985: 124), this results in the tendency to label these minority groups as 'deviant'.

1.4 Scholarship

A further area in which the church has lost religious authority is that of scholarship. In failing to acknowledge scientific discovery and being reluctant to apply critical inquiry to the basic tenets of the Christian faith, the church has shown itself to be irrelevant for many people. This was apparent from New Zealand's colonial beginnings, when many clergy were uneducated (Breward 1985:67). The continuing predominance of such clergy presented a church reluctant to cope with the changing philosophical, theological, scientific and social changes, particularly since the First World War (Webster and Perry 1992: 132). The church showed reluctance to translate the Bible into secular language and thought, preferring to ignore the previous two centuries of scientific discovery. In keeping to simplistic interpretations of the old traditional expressions of belief, many people have found the church to be irrelevant in our post-modernist age. Clergy who have expressed the Christian faith in accordance to scientific discovery have largely been opposed (Webster and Perry 1992: 35, 61; Barber 1985: 131).

The Presbyterian church brought one such clergyman, Lloyd Geering, to trial in 1967 because he published articles, which translate the Bible into post-modern language and thought (Veitch 1983: 219-222). A reason the Presbyterian church, among others opposed Geering's thought was the fear of the church's position being threatened by the emergence of secular expressions of Christianity. This fear was compounded by statistics revealing decline in church attendance (Veitch 1983: 204).

It was not Geering's intention to destroy the Christian faith, but rather, to "communicate the gospel to a scientific world" (Breward 1975: 73, cited in Veitch 1983:203). In an article published by *Outlook* 29th June, 1970, Geering writes:

> Secular man, I believe, will increasingly fail to hear this vital message (of the Christian faith) while it is tied to outmoded forms of belief and to a language only spoken and understood within Church circles. It was the attempt to translate some of the central affirmations of Christianity into everyday language that has led to the mistaken impression that I wanted to abandon its historical and Biblical background. (Veitch 1983:219).

People such as Geering, who advocate making Christianity relevant, are rejected by the church and accepted by secular academic institutions. Geering, following his heresy trial, was appointed the first professor of Religious Studies at Victoria University, Wellington, in 1971 (Veitch 1983: 218). This indicated the need in our secular society for strong, religious debate. The church is not supplying this.

The debates associated with Geering's heresy trial raised the credibility and respect of the church for many people. For many in the secular community, the church lost credibility because of its "insistence on pre-scientific analysis, wishful thinking and double talk" (Barber 1985: 132). For others, the published debates provided an opportunity to read about theology and brought renewed interest in the church from those who rejected it earlier. But others felt alienated and confused (Veitch 1983: 219). Many adherents of the mainline churches were attracted to the Pentecostal movement which values the authoritative structures which were challenged in the traditional churches (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 305).

The church's scope of religious authority does not embrace the challenge of scientific knowledge. Veitch maintains that from the 1960s, church membership dropped rapidly as scientific knowledge challenged the church's intellectual basis. People found the church irrelevant as it failed to acknowledge the intellectual challenges to belief. The church's loss of authority in this field is further illustrated by continuing trends of strong interest in studies of religion but little interest in being a Christian. People also began losing their emotional attachments to the church, limiting attendance to baptisms, weddings and funerals. Other Sunday activities have replaced church attendance (Veitch 2001:27-9)

The reluctance of many church groups to rethink important issues is further reflected in the debate over the issue of ordaining gay clergy. According to Morris (1999: 17), 'it seems that the traditional church has chosen to "condemn itself to irrelevancy"'. Morris quotes Geering who stated that it is a "tragedy that this scholarship is not passed on to the congregation". The gulf between academic theology and the mainstream church is wider now than it was 100 years ago (Morris 1999:17).

1.5 Privatisation of Religion

Veitch (1983: 188-9) claims that secularization has sidelined religion to a matter of individual privacy and choice. The privatisation of faith is an indication of the traditional church having lost its authority because it has failed to convince people of the relevance of the Christian faith (Breward: 1987: 117). New Zealanders are withdrawing in large numbers from active participation in both the traditional and non-traditional churches (Geering 1983:173). According to Geering (1983: 164-5, 175-9), people are no less spiritual because they no longer attend church. Many who claim to have no religion do actually have religious beliefs (Hill 1983:271).

Grimshaw (Richard 1987 cited in Grimshaw 1999: 155) describes secularization as "an affirmation of the autonomy of secular society over and against the Church as a religious and sacral power". Personal autonomy is a characteristic of the secular age, claims Geering (1983: 178-9). People are increasingly making their own religious choices, instead of heeding church authorities (Hoover and Lundby 1992: 28). People "want to be convinced for themselves of the truth of any religious claim or of the rightness of any moral requirement" (Geering 1983: 178-9,181; Horsfield 2003: 271-2).

Horsfield (2003:272-3) argues that the church has failed to lead in these radical processes of secularisation. The church does not seem to have realised that modern society is no longer homogenous, ruled by a cultural elite. People are leaving it for something more relevant. Instead of acknowledging the changes, the church has reacted defensively to these accusations or irrelevancy. Historically, the church has gone through a number of paradigm shifts, and must continue to do so.

The processes of secularization have resulted in the church having lost its authority. Church attendance and affiliation is now a personal choice. People are seeking spiritual guidance which suits them personally. Intimate and personalised settings are preferred and the individual experience is sought after. 'Institutional religion is thus shifting from the centre to the periphery' (Hill 1983: 271). Religion has "become a private leisure-time pursuit, purchased in the market like any other consumer culture lifestyle" (Featherstone 1991: 134).

1.5.1Census Figures

The privatisation of religion has resulted in it being de-institutionalized and is, therefore, difficult to measure in the form of census figures. 'Therefore, the religious question in census forms is only a guide to the kind of religion which survives from the pre-secular age. The form those questions take do not apply to religion in the secular age and are consequently misleading. The interpretation on census data does not differentiate nominal church adherents from those who are committed' (Geering 1983: 172, 177).

Census figures indicating religious confessions are in appendix A.

1.6 Newspapers in Canterbury

As mentioned above, the church in Canterbury failed to lead in shaping the Anglican colony. The print media, however, assumed this role. The Canterbury colonial newspapers promoted a distinctive national character and certain understandings of New Zealand society (Day 1990:3-6, 34; Breward 1967: 22-3).

In Canterbury, the *Lyttelton Times* was established in 1851 by colonists. Fitzgerald, the founder and first editor (Scholefield 1958:2), also a prominent politician (Day 1990:88), promoted the ideals of John Robert Godley in the *Lyttelton Times* (Bohan 1998:55) as well as his own opinions (Day 1990:102). The *Lyttelton Times*, although a planned part of the colonial Anglican settlement, soon found that the ideals of the Canterbury Association had little in common with the colonists. The *Lyttelton Times* then became independent of the Tory, high church Canterbury Association (Bohan 1998:510). No longer did it support the church and its politics became more liberal (Day 1990:51). The first and only enduring rival of the *Lyttelton Times*, *The Press*, was founded in 1861. It was set up by Fitzgerald who was its editor from 1862-65. He used *The Press* to support his political views and advance his interests (Bohan 1998: passim; Day 1990:122; O'Neil 1963:3-11; Scholefield 1958:2).

In 1868, the *Christchurch Star* (O'Neil 1963:71) began as a direct descendent of Canterbury's first newspaper, the *Lyttelton Times*, as a complementary afternoon newspaper (newspaper supplements 1958; unpaginated). It ceased to be a daily on November 13 1991 and survives now as a bi-weekly give-away (Cotton, personal communication, 5/3/01).

1.6.1 Hegemony of the Media

McQuail (1987: 79) contends that the media are related to strikers of economic and political power which covertly invade and shape the consciousness of citizens (ibid 66). He refers to the third school of media analysis in Marxist tradition which argues that the media are non-democratic as they are controlled by the ruling capitalist class (ibid 83). Gans (1980:94-5) submits that news organisations work to protect their commercial and political interests by editing news accordingly. They have the power to refuse the working class a voice, although theoretically, the instruments of communication are equally available to all (McQuail 1987:101). As well as controlling who has a voice, media organisations also control the distribution of information which limits most people in having access to their alternative views being published (ibid). As mentioned above, religion as a source of fundamental social change is controlled. According to McQuail (1987: 66), the potential for any such radical changes is diminished by the capitalist ownership of the news media.

This hegemony prevailed in New Zealand after 1880. Before 1880, newspapers were owned by sole proprietors who were also politicians. Their newspapers supported politicians of their choice, thus were overt in their political advocacy. After 1880 the sole proprietors were replaced by business entrepreneurs with commercial interests, covert in their political support (Day 1990: 4, 122, 136, 236). Not only did press personnel support certain politicians, but they also came from similar social backgrounds (Day 1990: 181).

New Zealand newspapers demonstrated a declining interest in church matters from 1926 (Breward 1967: 78). Alan Davidson, an Anglican clergyman, writes that the press distorts church actions. An example he gives is when the church joined with radical students and trade unionists in political protests against the Vietnam war during the 1960s. The press reported the church as being under communist influence. This judgement was intensified, says Davidson, by those who criticised the church for being involved in politics (1991:172-3). When the National Council of Churches gave financial medical assistance to North Vietnam in 1967, the media reported the Church as being anti-government. Such "symbolic gestures", writes Davidson, are often distorted by the media and war supporters, resulting in statements made against the Church (1991:173).

1.6.2 Church Reflection in the Newspapers

Church leaders say they were reported inadequately and negatively by the news media when, on two occasions the church protested against government policies. For instance, in 1993, leaders of ten churches issued a Social Justice Statement and Statement of Intent which challenged the National Party's policies and priorities which, according to church groups, were detrimental to the poor. The newspapers gave these Statements, which challenged business interests and National government policies positive editorial coverage. Not surprisingly, the church groups received much criticism from the government and its supporters and from businesses. However, the Statements were also criticised for being vague and not addressing the issues adequately (Boston 1994: 13, 22-5). This is an example of the church showing incompetence by presenting statements to the government and to the media which were inadequately researched and inarticulately written.

Another example of the church being critical of newspaper coverage was in 1998 when the Anglican church organised a national protest, the Hikoi of Hope, a protest march against poverty. According to Ahdar and Stenhouse (2000: 9), this was an occasion when the church showed its political strength in challenging the "politics and culture of secular New Zealand". The march finished up at the Beehive in Wellington where church leaders challenged leading politicians from all the political parties. They were presented with a discussion document, *A Constitution for Our Nation*. The leaders of the two main political parties, Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark, "reacted with surprise and disquiet at this challenge to the existing order" (ibid). A conservative journalist, Frank Haden, wrote in the *Sunday Star Times*, that

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According to Julia Stuart (1999: unpaginated), Hikoi supporters were disappointed that the march was not deemed to be of great importance by reporters. In this case, it seems that the media had under-estimated the power of the church and its cause. According to Salvation Army Commander Campbell Roberts, (personal communication 31/12/2003), the media were unaware of the large impact the Hikoi actually did make on the government. As a result of the Hikoi, the Prime Minister and members of Parliament meet with church leaders twice a year to discuss issues of importance to the poor (31/12/03).

This is an example of the hegemony exercised by the newspapers.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the church's religious authority has been overridden by the forces of secularisation. Firstly, materialism and its associated activities has displaced the importance of church life in the community. Secondly, the church failed to take a leading role in Canterbury in the forming a cohesive society. One reason was that many clergy had difficulties in coping with the pioneering situation. They narrowed their scope of religious authority in focusing on their difficulties, resulting in them being out of touch with the needs of the community.

The church's narrowed and 'inward-looking' focus was further illustrated in the sectarian rivalry it generated. This resulted in the government introducing the secular clause in the Education Act in 1877. This was a recognition of New Zealand's status as a secular country, rather than a Christian one. The bitterness of the sectarian rivalry resulted in many people leaving the church and disregarding its authority.

The church's irrelevance in society was further exacerbated by the church's narrow focus in the Bible in Schools and the Prohibition movements. The church interpreted the effects of the social and economic

and authority were further reflected in changing government legislation concerning moral and social issues, such as Sunday trading. From 1990, church authority ceased to be reflected in legislation. Instead, the church was regarded as one of many competing voices in a secular society.

A reason for the church failing to take a leading role in social concerns was its ambiguity. This was seen in the church's involvement with the Labour Party and in regard to social and moral concerns. Dissention within the church was a reason it failed to make a public stand on many other important social issues.

Another reason the church has been sidelined had to do with the issue of scholarship. The church's reluctance to acknowledge scientific discovery and modern thought was a reason many deemed the church irrelevant. Academic institutions, however, welcome the creative thinkers the church rejects, Lloyd Geering being an example of such persons.

The divisions within the church are a contributing factor to religion being deinstitutionalised and privatised. The institutional church has become sidelined as people seek religion elsewhere. Church authority is no longer adhered to because people are more autonomous in finding a form of religion which suits them.

The church failed in its role to form a cohesive society. However, this role was, particularly in colonial Canterbury, fulfilled by the hegemony exercised by the newspapers. Church leaders, since 1920, began expressing dissatisfaction with newspaper reportage of church news.

Chapter Two
What is Newsworthiness?

Introduction

Many church people complain that the news media portray them inaccurately and negatively. Church people cannot understand why good and positive things are not news. This chapter will explain the selection process which determines what is newsworthy.

The first consideration to be discussed in structuring news stories is 'stereotyping'. This is followed by a discussion of news values which are used to determine which stories and which aspects of those stories are suitable as news stories. The second aspect considered by newsmakers is deciding which sources are suitable for news gathering. I will discuss only the news values and sources which pertain to the material already discussed in chapter one, the data sets and the interviews.

The news values which are pertinent to this thesis to be looked at include 'conflict', 'clarity' and 'simplification', 'time frame', in which events occur as a determinate of newsworthiness, and 'negativity'. Further considerations are people who are considered to be 'elite centred' and those whose behaviour is considered to be 'deviant'. The seventh news value, 'personification', considers people attached to institutions. I will then look at 'consonance'/'predictability', the 'unexpected' and 'novelty' aspects of events (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 62-70).

Another news value, not described by Galtung and Ruge, is 'hypocrisy'. According to Silk (1995: 88), this is a more recently acknowledged news value.

'Enduring values', described by Herbert Gans, are then discussed. The ones relevant for this thesis are 'altruistic democracy', 'responsible capitalism', 'social order and moral disorder'.

Included in Gans's list of news values are 'important stories'. Two of these are pertinent to this thesis. They consider 'rank in hierarchy' and 'the extent of an impact'.

'Interesting stories' are the last of the news values I shall discuss. There are four which I consider relevant. The first of these considers 'people who act outside their expected roles'. The second considers 'human interest', followed by 'scandal'. The fourth is a 'story which can evoke surprise'.

The second aspect of this chapter discusses sources considered suitable for news. According to Gans (1980: 128-31), there are six considerations of sources pertinent to this thesis. The first to be discussed

is 'efficiency'. This is followed by 'authority' which includes discussion concerning authoritative sources, 'bad news' and the dual meaning of 'bad news'. I shall also look at the church as an authority. The third requirement of news sources is 'productivity'. The fourth considers 'trustworthiness and honesty' and finally, requirements of 'past suitability' and 'articulateness' are discussed.

2.1 Complaints about News Coverage

"Anyone who knows something about anything is likely to be unhappy with the way it is covered in the media", according to Mark Silk, staff writer for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and teacher of religion and media at Emory University. According to people knowledgeable in particular fields, the media never get their stories right. They are either written with a bias, inaccurately or out of context. This applies to any field, says Silk (1995: xi), but perhaps more so to religion. The reporting of religious news will hardly satisfy both believers and non-believers (Silk 1995: 144).

Those who are not knowledgeable about the role and purpose of the news media are often surprised by what it selects as news, according to former political editor for New Zealand National Radio, Al Morrison (2002: 56-7,66). Many complain that the media have distorted their stories. But no journalist 'writes a complete and accurate account of all that happened. Journalists will strip a story of its superfluous facts' and "settle on a highly concentrated morsel" (ibid). One reason newspapers do this, he says, is that they are looking for a fresh approach to a story with which most readers will already be familiar through television and radio. (Morrison 2002: 57-8).

According to former reporter for the *New York Times* and *Newark Star Ledger,* Robert Darnton (1990: 91), the method used to write news stories stems from the oral tradition. In Darnton's research on the literature and popular culture of early modern France and England, he discovered that the motifs used are similar to those which are used in the stories written from the pressroom of police headquarters in Newark (Darnton 1990: 91). Despite their content changing as society changes, news stories continue to be written in the old, familiar forms familiar to the newsroom (Darnton 1990: 52,86,93).

2.2 Introduction to News Values

Good stories need to embody tension, drama, conflict and a climax, which usually resolves the conflict. But what the church views as good stories, such as a drug habit being overcome through love and prayers, are not considered to be news stories. Such experiences are widely shared in our communities. The more widely shared a view, writes Silk, the less noticeable it will be as a news story (1995: 51). In a church community, however, they would make great testimonies, encouraging the faith of fellow believers. The elements which make stories news stories, therefore, are not the same for a church community.

> News stories are, therefore, shaped to fit the criteria of news values. The cultural preconceptions found in reporting are stock sentiments and figures which need to be known and understood by the public (Darnton 1990: 92).

In selecting and structuring news stories the media draw on a range of news values. Galtung and Ruge (1973: 66) list a number of these, which do not vary much from culture to culture. These values are still considered to be valid, according to more recent research by Murray Masterton (undated: unpaginated). Journalists edit and present the material from their sources according to their conceptions of newsworthiness and what they regard as being important for the public good (Ericson et al 1989: 12-3,377; Leitch 1990: 11,18; Galtung and Ruge 1973: 70). Gans (1980: 90), for example, writes that in order to sell a story, journalists 'emphasise the most novel, dramatic or unusual components'. The Geering heresy controversy is an example of the New Zealand press emphasising certain aspects of a story, such as, the novel, dramatic and unusual elements in order to sell a story (Gans 1980: 91-3).

Stereotyping

News stories, then, have a stereotypical nature because they are written according to pre-established categories and preconceptions of what news stories should be (Darnton 1990: 87-88; Silk 1995: 49). For an event or a report to be a news story, the writer needs to manipulate standardised images, clichés, also 'slants' and 'scenarios' into stories which will be responded to conventionally (Darnton 1990:87-88,Silk 1995:49).

Conflict

An important news value, conflict, is often emphasised in news stories (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 70). The Lloyd Geering heresy trial is an example of the media emphasising the conflict between Geering and the Presbyterian church, the "winners and losers" (Grimshaw 1988: 86). The press could rely on the unpredictable and dramatic behaviour of Geering's opponents to create something 'newsworthy'. This issue also exposed the conflict within the Church and the general rebelliousness of the 1960s (Grimshaw 1988: 86).

According to McGregor (2002: 119), conflict as a news value has been modified. Prior to 1965, conflict was considered as an outcome. But after 1965, due to society rapidly changing, conflict has become a format through which issues and sources are selected and presented as controversial issues. Events need conflict in order to be news. News stories, therefore, cannot be ambiguous or complex in presenting controversial issues (ibid). "Conflict is the frame of reference through which all news is reported", claims Jeremy Halcrow (2002: 22) in *Southern Cross*, an Anglican Sydney diocesan paper. Halcrow adds that quite possibly, reporters were instructed by their editors to go for a certain angle (2001:22).

According to Bunting (1996: 5), the need for drama in stories, including news stories, results in conflict being a vital news value. An example of conflict being needed in order to make a story newsworthy was when the Prime Minister, Helen Clark, addressed 'Hikoi, Five Years On' in the Christchurch Cathedral in March, 2004. Most of her speech addressed what the government had done concerning the social issues presented by the Hikoi. She also made brief reference to a speech made by the leader of the Opposition, Don Brash, which was contrary to the concerns of the Hikoi. She referred to this speech as the "Orewa speech". Instead of reporting on the bulk of her speech which addressed the concerns of the Hikoi, *The Press* focused the uproar which arose from Clark's reference to 'the Orewa speech' and criticism that the Cathedral was being used as a political platform. The Prime Minister visiting the Cathedral is a news item, for reasons I shall discuss later. The issues of the Hikoi are not considered to have news values.

According to Stewart Hoover, author of *Religion in the News*, religion is newsworthy when it is reported as a conflict (1998: 19). He says that a New York *Herald* editor, James Gordon Bennett, began covering religion from the point of view of the *Herald.* This resulted in him being criticised heavily by church leaders. They regarded this type of religion reporting as "rampant secularisation and a threat to [the church's] authority" (ibid). This, perhaps, illustrates how the nature and role of religion differ from that of the church.

Clarity

Clarity is an important news value (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 64). Linda Kintz (1998: 115) refers to the 'ideology of clarity', which describes simplification as giving the quick, simple message priority over complex and ambiguous stories. This can explain the lack of depth in news stories.

Simplification

In today's world of headlines, argues Hughes, 'rarely is the full story told (Hughes 2003: 189). Religion is not a quick, simple message which appeals to newspapers, writes Bunting. Church teachings about belief and moral practice are too complex and subtle for the news media which choose stories which are 'short, simple and striking' (Bunting 1996: 5).

Since the terrorist attacks in America, there has been much news media interest in Islam, (Donovan 2002: unpaginated). But the simplification process has resulted in Muslims being portrayed as Islam fundamentalists and terrorists, and Islam as being a violent religion, (Gersh Hernandez 1994: 17).

The simplification process often results in issues being presented out of context Leitch (1990: 35-6) writes that the "simplifying process removes historical and diachronic perspectives" and fails to make connections between events and statements coherently (Leitch 1990: 44,59). In covering some stories as

events rather than issues, very little informed debate is presented to the public. This is due, in part to many journalists having a limited understanding of the stories they present (Leitch 1990: 52).

The simplification process introduces the conflict element, reducing stories to 'winners and losers'. It is more dramatic to portray people clashing with each other, rather than to report conflicting ideologies (ibid: 37). In the Geering trial the media portrayed the theology debate as a conflict between Geering and the Presbyterian church. Simplification is also seen in the media portrayal of church debates over moral issues, such as the 1986 homosexuality decriminalisation debate. The conflict element was portrayed as liberalism versus fundamentalism, dividing the church (Lineham 1993: 114).

Bunting (1996: 5) suggests another reason for the need of simplifying stories. People's concentration spans are shorter because their lives are busier. She refers to the 'strap hanging test', a simple but catchy article read by someone hanging on to a strap in a crowded bus or tube.

Time Frame

Journalists tend to see only immediate events instead of the long-term processes, according to Darnton (1990: 91). Thus, the time frame of an event is another important news value noted by Galtung & Ruge (1973: 63) which determines the suitability of a news story. Daily newspapers give a 24-hour snapshot of an event. Many events need more time to unfold and to acquire meaning and are, therefore, unsuitable for newspapers. "There must also be an element of intensity, such as a certain frequency, importance and magnitude before it is deemed to be 'newsworthy'" (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 64). An example noted above is the speech made by the Prime Minister in the Cathedral. It was easier for the media to write about the conflict element because it occurred within a limited time frame. Clark's speech, which addressed the positive things the government had achieved over a period of four years, lacked the intensity of conflict.

Negativity

Galtung and Ruge (1973: 68) argue that the more negative an event, the more likely it is to be in the news. Such events are often easier to report than something positive because it often takes less time for a negative thing to happen. For example, it does not take long for a church to burn down, but it takes some time to build a church. Negative news is also often more consensual and unambiguous, "in a sense that there will be agreement about the interpretation of the event as negative" (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 68). Negative news, in a culture where positive changes are regarded as normal, has also the news quality of the unexpected (ibid).

Elite centred

Galtung and Ruge (1973: 66) claim that news is also elite-centred. The actions of the elite, such as the Pope, and archbishop or bishop are often perceived as more consequential than those of ordinary folk.

Deviance

Deviance is another news value which often reflects the values of the power elite and indicates which groups are regarded as legitimate. Religious affiliation is being used more as an identifier in news reports (Breen 1996: unpaginated). Small religious groups and individuals associated with them are generally reported less prominently, less law abiding and more negatively, than larger religious groups (Breen 1996: unpaginated). An example of this, reported in 1880 in *The Star* reads, "despite public opinion, the Mormons opened a new church in Chicago" (2/6: 3). Deviance labels can result in certain groups being stigmatised and rated as inferior. All those associated with that group can be reported negatively (Breen 1996: unpaginated).

Religious deviants are now common in news stories, for example, Muslim fanatics (ibid). Deviance stories have symbolic significance because they allow the news media to assume the role of moral conscience (McGregor 2002:83-93). Reporting such stories allow the media to restate social rules and caution those who violate the norm. They also allow the media the opportunity to advocate and campaign in the name of justice to see matters rectified. A further example in *The Star*, 1880, reports that' six daughters in a Mormon family have been excommunicated because they are trying to recover $1,000,000 stolen from them by executors of their father's estate' (2/6: 3).

Personification

If an event is seen in personal terms, as in the actions of individuals, it is likely to be a news story (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 66). According to Bunting (1996: 6), the focus on people, rather than on institutions, grabs people's attention. Hence, it is doubtful whether the Geering case would have been such a media event if it had lacked the people opposing Geering. The personal aspect may also explain why David Morrell, of the Anglican City Mission, is often in the newspapers.

The personification of a structure, claim Galtung and Ruge (1973: 66), makes an item more accessible to the news. According to Bunting, stories about people "grab the reader's attention" (Bunting 1996:6), rather than stories about institutions or issues. The actions of a person can fit in more easily with the time span which fits the time restriction of the news media, than structures without identifiable people. Also, a person would require less interviews, data gathering and research, thus requiring less time and money (Bunting 1996: 68). The news media prefer news stories which have the plot of a soap opera (ibid1996: 6).

Consonance/Predictability

Consonance/predictability is where a story must not be too distant from the expectations of the readers (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 64). An example is Graham Capill, Christian Heritage Party leader opposing changes to the Matrimonial Property Act in the year 2000. According to *The Press* (21/7: 3), Capill describes those who seek changes to the Act as "fornicators, adulterers and homosexuals".

Unexpected

According to Galtung and Ruge (1973: 63, 65), the unexpectedness or rarity of an event makes it newsworthy. However, this must occur within the context of what is already familiar to readers. For example, *The Star* reports in 1960 of a Salvation Army social worker who advises unmarried mums to keep their babies. Another example occurs in the year 2000. An Auckland Catholic bishop supports the use of contraception outside marriage (*The Press*).

Novelty

The scarcity of an event gives it a novelty value. The media look out for the unusual, the bizarre. Gans (1980:167-8) argues that journalists do not see events as social or scientific processes happening over a period of time. Instead, they see them as independent events. Thus, what seems to be new for the journalist is not new as far as the source is concerned. Journalists, writes Gans, create novelty. Mayer (1993: 67) claims that for news purposes, novelty is not necessarily a quality of the event itself but how it is made known. An example is *The Press* reportage of the Lloyd Geering heresy trial. According to Grimshaw (1988: 86), the newspaper saw this as something exotic with "medieval connotations", thus unusual.

Hypocrisy

Religious hypocrisy is a news value as it is irresistible both to the public and the media. Since the days of Progressivism in America, claims Silk (1995: 87,80), revivalists were keen on campaigns against alcohol, gambling and personal morality. Accounts of their own moral lapses were, while shocking to some, delicious to others. The image of the corrupt evangelist became paradigmatic of religious hypocrisy in American culture. A parallel can be drawn with the New Zealand Prohibition movement, sectarian rivalry within the church and the church supporting the war. As noted in chapter one, many people were disappointed in the church because of its hypocrisy.

Important stories:

News organisations select stories based on their level of importance and interest. In considering whether a story is important, Gans mentions four requirements, two of which are pertinent to this thesis.

Rank in Hierarchy

The first criteria for importance concerns rank in governmental and other hierarchies. 'Importance is accorded to the actor highest in these hierarchies'. (Gans 1980: 147). The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches tend to be more newsworthy than other denominations because they have their recognised, established hierarchies which give authority to the spokespersons of those institutions, such as the Pope, archbishops and bishops. Other members of these ecclesiastical churches, such as, local vicars, are respected authorities in the community.

The Presbyterian and Methodist denominations do not have such hierarchical structures, nor do they have regional spokespersons, such as a bishop. The Presbyterian and Methodist churches have a Moderator who is elected annually, thus not an easily recognised person. Hence they are inhibited in their public statements. (Lineham 2000: 46). This criteria for importance may explains why the Anglican City Missioner, David Morrell, features more often in *The Press* than the Methodist City Missioner.

Extent of Impact

A second criteria Gans (1980: 151) mentions is the extent of the impact. The more people affected, the more important is the event. Journalists do not have data to judge accurately how many people would be affected by an event, so they guess using their perception of the population which is largely coloured by their social and familial contacts, usually the well-educated, upper-middle classes who make up the largest proportion of the newspaper readership (Gans 1980: 151). An example is the Hikoi protest march which did not receive much media coverage despite it affecting a great number of people. The majority of these people affected were not, however, the well educated, upper middle classes, but the lower socio-economic classes. The media did not realise how effective the Hikoi was on the government, according to Salvation Army Commander, Campbell Roberts (personal communication 31/12/03).

Interesting Stories

Interesting stories are needed to give balance to the news. Balance, in this sense, means a diverse collection of stories to hold audience attention (Gans 1980: 173). The selection of these stories is "based on shared personal reactions" in the newsroom. These stories are not 'governed by considerations' (Gans 1980: 155-6). Gans lists six types of 'interesting' stories, only five of which are relevant to this thesis.

People acting outside their expected roles

The first type of 'interesting story' involves ordinary people either acting, or being acted upon in unusual situations (Gans 1980: 173). An example reported in *The Press* in the year 2000 is a photograph of an Anglican minister enacting the Crucifixion (22/4: 4).

Human interest

The second type of 'interesting' story is the human interest story. These stories evoke sympathy, pity or admiration. Readers often identify with the 'hero' or 'victim' of these stories (Gans 1980:173). An example reported in *The Press*, 1960, of a blind evangelist who lost his eyesight during the war. He has learnt stenography and leads a full life. He has thus overcome his handicap (22/6: 11).
Another example in *The Press*, 2000, concerns some beneficiaries who, unaware of their full entitlement of welfare payments, suffer poverty (1/8: 2).

Scandal

A third type of story is what Gans calls 'exposé anecdotes'. These either report or imply condemnation to those who violate the enduring values (Gans 1980: 156). Examples of this are stories about Mormons who allegedly practice polygamy.

Story which Evokes Surprise

A fourth type of 'interesting story' is that which evokes surprise (Gans 1980: 156). This can also be a 'quirky' story. An example of this occurs in *The Star*, 1880, (11/5: 3). The Methodists were proud owners of a new organ which was too large to fit into their church. Retired men in the congregation sang with their hymn books upside down.

Enduring Values

Gans (1980: 204) highlights another set of values which he calls 'enduring values'. Enduring values, claims Gans, belong to an ideal of good society, and incorporate both political and lay opinions. Enduring values often affect which events become news and help to shape opinions (ibid: 41). Journalists are not the only ones who work according to these values; they are shared by public officials with business interests who are major sources (ibid: 205-6). The following sections consider three of the enduring values which are relevant to this thesis. They are 'altruistic democracy', 'responsible capitalism' and 'social order and moral disorder'.

Altruistic Democracy

Altruistic democracy is concerned with the unstated ideal expressed in stories about corruption, conflict and protest. These stories imply that politics should serve the public interest. Therefore, any behaviour which deviates from this expectation is deemed newsworthy (Gans 1980:43). By the church challenging the government concerning issues of the Hikoi, for example, the church received negative press because of the implication that politics was not serving the public interest.

Responsible Capitalism

A second enduring value, responsible capitalism, is a belief in a good society, where competition in business is "to create increased prosperity for all" (Gans 1980:46). This value means that while there is little criticism of the oligopolistic nature of the economy, there are negative judgements made about unions and strikes because of their "inconvenience the public" (ibid). News pays most of its supportive attention to elite persons and elite institutions as long as their behaviour is in accordance to the enduring values (ibid: 60-2).

Social and Moral Order/Disorder

Another 'enduring value' concerns social and moral order/disorder. These stories are about persons and activities which disturb the public peace and may involve violence or the threat of violence. They also include the destruction of valued institutions, such as the nuclear two-parent family. Moral disorder stories are concerned with the violation of laws and customs and conventions which are regarded as essential to the smooth functioning of a community. The reaction of some church extremists to these stories often make the news (1980: 53-6).

As noted in chapter one, society's moral values are derived from the church. Many people's perception of the church is governed by the church's expression of these values, contends Silk (1995:xii). According to McGregor (2002: 81-2), stories which evoke moral judgement make prime news. Such stories are printed to sell newspapers rather than to educate and inform. They define what is good, bad and deviant (McGregor 2002: 81-2). In American news, the Mormons have been targeted for moral disorder stories because they used to practise polygamy. Silk (1995: 92-3) observes that this concept possibly appealed to the Victorian readers' imagination. Despite polygamy being outlawed since 1890, news articles are still presented with the implication that polygamy is still practised. The Canterbury newspapers in 1880 also presented news about Mormons allegedly practising polygamy.

Stories regarding moral order and disorder are "safe packaging" for religion, writes Silk (1995:149). 'Nothing represents good religion in the news media like good works' (Silk 1995: 153). Furthermore, stories concerned with good and evil make good copy. In seeking an undifferentiated readership, the media need to be morally comprehensible by their readers (Silk 1995:53). When the church is active in social work it is considered by the media to be newsworthy because it is seen to be involved in and relevant to the needs of the community. Ordinary religious practice, however, does not engage the moral attention of the news media. Although many critics of the church would argue that religion should not be involved with social issues, the media give positive reports of the social gospel being alive and well (ibid 59). This was reflected in *The Press*'s characterisation of Christchurch's retiring City Missioner, David Morrell, as 'Champion of the Poor" (6/3/04: A15). Silk quotes *Denver Post*'s managing editor, Lawrence C. Martin, who, when speaking to journalist students at the University of Colorado, argued that the churches themselves were to blame when not featured in the news media, because they themselves had created the impression that they were detached and indifferent to the needs of the community. In order to occupy news space, claimed Martin, churches need to be involved with community problems (Silk 1995: 60).

2.3 Sources

Much of the raw material used by journalists to construct their stories comes from sources outside the newsroom. Sources are biased as they often want to further their interests and agenda (Tidey 2002: 72).

News "is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources" claims Ericson (1989: 377). When journalists select news sources they first consider a number of factors. Gans (1980: 128-9) mentions six, They are efficiency, authority, productivity, trustworthiness and honesty, past suitability and the ability to be articulate.

Efficiency

Efficiency is seen as an over-riding determinant for the selection of news sources. Journalists are under pressure to produce a certain number of stories each day. The limitations of time and money are enforced upon them by their news organisations (Gans 1980: 94-5,98). Their range of news coverage is thus dependent on reliable sources which are usually authoritative sources (Leitch 1990: 19).

Authority

Authoritative sources give credibility to the news organisations which publish them, because authoritative sources are deemed by the public to be truth tellers. Authoritative sources, then, are considered to be suitable because they enable news organisations to save time and money in being able to supply much information at the least cost to the news organisation (Gans 1980:130-1). Gans (1980:138) also notes that most journalists have only little, if any, information in the field which they are reporting and have had little time to do any prior research. Unless the journalists have been instructed to interview certain people, they gravitate towards key persons for authoritative sources (Ericson 1989:1). Hence, when reporting church news, journalists perhaps head towards authoritative figures in the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, such as, the Bishop or the City Missioner, rather than to a denomination which does not have an authoritative structure, nor a well known authority figure or spokesperson. The large, traditional denominations have social influence and power which the smaller ones do not have (Breen 1996: 4-6).

Authoritative Sources and 'Bad News'

The sources often quoted in the news are the ones which are considered to have the authority to propose solutions for controlling social problems. The reason for this is that much news is 'bad news'. 'Bad' news often consists of deviant behaviour and proposes measures to control it. In proposing solutions, mainstream newspapers cite officials, such as the Bishop or City Missioner, instead of a congregational member. Such authority figures are socially recognised to be in a position to give accurate information. Ericson writes that "news is a representation of authority" (1989:4).

The Dual Meaning of 'Bad News'

According to Ericson (1989: 377), if a source wants to maintain authority in the news, it must "deal with the dual meaning of 'bad' news". Ericson (1989: 378) states that 'Bad news' "is a powerful force in society. It must be taken earnestly by all those who wish to be represented in public conversations...". The emphasis the media place on 'bad news' and the discourse on controlling it must be accepted by

sources wishing to maintain an authoritative position. The source needs to learn to handle bad news in several ways. First, the source must recognise how the media view 'bad news' and work within those limitations. Ericson (1989: 378) defines bad news within the limitations of 'dramatisation, sensationalisation, personalization and focus on the unexpected'. The source must learn that it can use bad news to its own advantage by turning it into good news. In turning it into good news, the source presents its solution which must include the source's relevant knowledge and activities. It must present its solution as being for the public good, and present itself as an 'authorised knower'. In presenting a solution in this way, the source not only has a say, but also has some authority in the community. It is also important for the source to recognise that it is a team member working for the public interest, not for its own ends. The essence of maintaining authority in the news, says Ericson, is to work towards a popular consensus which involves some control over other sources seen to be deviant (Ericson 1989: 378).

The Church as an Authority

The church is seen as an authoritative institution because it has been used by the state for the purpose of developing modern industrial societies (White 1997:38). For this purpose, according to White (ibid), the state pressured the church to align its doctrine with the Protestant work ethic. Aspects of religion have thus provided a framework for moral values in order to produce 'good' citizens, and 'good' societies (Veitch 1980:143), which are cohesive, strong and competitive (ibid:141-3; Stenhouse 1993:39). The church has also maintained its authoritative image, according to Webster and Perry, in not supporting the labour movement (1989:28)

Productive sources

According to Gans (1980: 129), productive sources` provide a lot of information without demanding too much time or effort from the journalist. News organisations, in being constrained by money and time, limit the number of sources a journalist needs to consult. This explains the predominance of governmental and institutional news (Gans 1980: 129).

Trustworthiness and Honesty

Trustworthiness and honesty are looked for by journalists, because unreliable sources can damage a journalist's credibility. Reliable sources, therefore, save time for the journalist because the journalist does not need to check the source information (Gans 1980: 129-30). When sources appear untrustworthy, the journalist loses time in consulting other news sources to validate their stories. Facts are only questioned when they are disputed by other legitimate sources, hence, fact is almost indistinguishable from source (Leitch 1990: 21).

Past suitability

Another consideration in selecting sources is 'past suitability' (Gans 1980: 129). Sources become regular when they produce relevant information. However, the journalist can lose interest if the sources deal mostly with the same issue (ibid: 129). As discussed in later chapters, the churches used to be a regular news source in Canterbury newspapers. Their annual general meetings and Synod meetings used to be regularly published in the newspapers. Harvest and Easter festivals used to provide news material in the descriptions of the church decorations, music and the participants involved. Now, however, business meetings are never mentioned and Synod meetings rarely. The only mention Harvest and Easter festivals receive is in the Church Notices in the classifieds.

Articulateness

A sixth consideration in the selection of sources is their ability to articulate. Sources need to be able to communicate their point clearly in order to be understood (Gans 1980: 131). An example of this is a Sydney Archbishop, Dr Peter Jensen, who was described by Jeremy Halcrow, *Southern Cross*, as a 'soundbite bishop', because he had strong opinions and was able to articulate them (2001: 22).
Ericson (1989: 14) argues that for sources to communicate their point clearly, they must have a knowledge and understanding of how journalists operate. Without this knowledge and understanding, communication between sources and journalists can be ineffective. Communication can be further jeopardised when the principles which sources hold are not in line with the status quo. To be represented in the news media, then, sources must share similar values with journalists, including dominant cultural values (Ericson 1989: 14).

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that stories for newspapers are selected according to news values. Sources are selected which are knowledgeable of news values and are able to communicate information efficiently. The discussion about news values and the selection of sources illustrate that the media do not have an agenda to ignore or undermine the church. Newspapers cover people and events in the whole community. Thus, journalists need to be selective in considering who and what are to be considered as news.

News stories are constructed according to conventions and preconceptions which are widely adhered to in the community, hence, their stereotypical nature. 'Conflict', a necessary news value, is contrary to what the church considers important in a story. The lack of depth and background information in reported stories are explained by the news values which consider 'clarity', 'simplicity', the 'time frame' and 'negativity'.
This discussion shows that church leaders who often feature in the news are considered to be 'elite', such as the Pope or the bishop. 'Deviance' reflects the values of the elite, resulting in small groups being reported negatively.

'Personifiction' explains why the church as an institution is not often in the news because it needs people to make it interesting. Hence, a church dignitary interests the media and also, the dignitary heads a hierarchical structure and is, therefore, a known figure. Church stories need the news values of 'consonance'/predictability', 'unexpectedness' and 'novelty', as well as 'important' and 'interesting' aspects. These help to balance the negative stories and reports concerned with 'enduring values'.

In their selection of sources, journalists choose those who are authoritative, efficient, trustworthy and articulate. Authoritative sources include church dignitaries who rank highly in hierarchical church structures. They are also considered to have authority to propose solutions to control societal problems, often reported as 'bad' news. When the church is able to provide strategies which control 'bad' news, the church will be seen as a team member in working towards a good society, rather than for its own ends.

Sources also need to be efficient and articulate, able to present information clearly in order to be understood. They must have knowledge of how media organisations function and share similar values with journalists, including the dominant cultural values.

Journalists prefer sources which are productive. Productive sources are able to provide much information without requiring too much time and effort from the journalist.

Thus, the selection of news sources and the employment of news values are worked together to produce news.

Chapter Three

Analysis of Data Sets

Introduction

This chapter analyses what was reported about church and religion in the Christchurch newspapers, *The Press*, the *Lyttelton Times* and *The Star*. The analysis consists of four data sets, 1880, 1920, 1960 and 2000. It tests a hypothesis that the church in Canterbury had a high newspaper profile in 1880, but, over the subsequent 120 years, the profile has declined markedly. This chapter analyses the patterns of media interest in church and religion. (The graphs illustrating these patterns are in appendix two.)

In analysing the data sets it is important to consider the size of newspapers. In 1880, the number of pages varies from four to eight pages, in 1920, from ten to sixteen pages. By 1960, the number of pages ranged from 28 to 32 pages and in 2000, from 28 to 80 pages.

The increasing number of pages in the newspapers of each progressive data set does not give an exact picture of the rate of the declining media interest reflected in the number of stories about church and religion. However, this analysis does give an indication of emerging patterns, including the decline of media interest in church and religion. It is also important to consider there has been an increase in the number of pages about other topics, such as, business, commerce and sport.

The changes shown by the data sets will be analysed in three areas:

Churches and religions: Some church groups received more media interest than others. I will show that there are two factors which influenced this. These are:

News topics: Stories which are newsworthy are selected according to topics which are of interest to the media. The news topics employed in this analysis have been selected from a survey by Lichter and Amundson (2000) of media coverage of religion in America. These American news topics are used in this thesis as part of the discussion about the church being newsworthy. These topics will be listed at the beginning of the 'news topics' section. I will also look at how news topics have changed over the 120 year period.

News values: I will discuss the dominant news values (described in chapter two) which are reflected in articles about church and religion. I will also mention how news values have changed during the period of 1880 to 2000.

3.1 Analysis of Churches and Religions

In the analysis of churches and religions, it is important to note that there are many unnamed denominations, most of which I assume are Anglican. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, as mentioned in chapter one, Canterbury was founded as an Anglican colony and, therefore, has a distinctive Anglican stamp with more

Anglican churches than other denominations. Secondly, readers would have known from the names of these churches that they were Anglican, for example, the Cathedral and St Michael's and All Angels. The few unnamed churches in Dunedin, however, I assume are Presbyterian, because Dunedin was founded as a Presbyterian colony.

1880

All three newspapers in 1880 have far more news about the Anglican church than any other, indicating that the Anglican church is of considerable interest to the news media. The Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians and 'other' denominations are of less interest, along with the Sunday School and Temperance meetings. *The Star* shows considerably more interest in church news than the other two newspapers.

In the 1880 newspapers, there is a much wider variety of denominations reported. Many of these denominations are reported in small numbers in 1880, but scarcely or never in the later years. These I have classed as 'other'. They are Brethren, Congregationalists, Church of Christ, Episcopalian, Bible Christian, Bible Church, English Church, Free Churches, Mission Church, Scandinavian Lutheran, Lutheran, German church, German Evangelicals, Adventist, Undenominational, Romish, Unitarian, Christian Science, Independent, Olive Branch Degree Temple, Spiritualist and churches of unspecified denominations.

The Mormons are of interest to the news media because of their assumed deviance. I will expand on the Mormons later.

The Methodists are reported under a variety of names. They are Primitive Methodist, United Methodist, the United Methodist Free Church, the Wesleyan Church and the Wesleyan Chapel. I have classed them all as 'Methodist'. However, by 1920, they are all called 'Methodist'.

Sunday School has been classed separately. Although Sunday Schools were part of parish life in 1880, there are often separate meetings for Sunday School teachers. This can be explained by Sunday Schools being an important tool of the Prohibition campaign, as noted in chapter one. There are the Canterbury Sabbath School Teachers Institute, the Canterbury Sunday School Teachers' Institute, the Sabbath School Management and the Diocesan Sunday School Association. The latter is occasionally reported as being affiliated with the Anglican church, the Sabbath Schools with the Methodists. But when Sunday Schools/Sabbath Schools are reported as part of church news, I categorise them with their denominations, for example, the Wesleyan Sunday School.

The Temperance group is only included in the analysis when they are mentioned in connection with churches. These include a few 'total abstinence meetings'. There are many more articles in the *Star* because it does not class Temperance groups with churches as much as the other two papers do.

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is run as an extra church activity with much clerical support.

1920

In 1920, all three newspapers have the highest number of stories about the Catholic church which occur mostly in the foreign news section. This seems to be for two reasons. Firstly, due to the Catholic and Protestant conflict in Ireland and secondly, the fear of anti-Empire agitation in association with the Catholics. This may explain why the number of stories about other denominations, including the traditional churches, even the Anglicans, is less in 1920 than in 1880.

Another reason for the lower number of stories about non-Catholic churches could be due to pioneering a new life in a new country, as discussed in chapter one. The importance of traditional churches and people keeping to their denominations, as they did in Britain, has eroded due to people mixing in more with each other. This is indicated by newspapers reporting the discussion of church union between the Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists. Another indication is the interest shown in the Council of Churches and the Salvation Army. There are no articles about most of the denominations I have categorised as 'other'. Either they are of no interest or they have disappeared. Some have combined, for example, the German Evangelicals and the Scandinavian Lutheran church combined with the Lutheran church. At a meeting (*The Star* 4/10/1880), the Scandinavian Lutheran church decided to amalgamate with the German Evangelicals alternate Sundays.

Another possibility for the smaller number of church stories is that the media had begun to lose interest in the church. As discussed in chapter one, this could be attributed to materialism and the disappointments people experienced in the church with the Prohibition campaign and the issue of war.

There are no stories about Mormons. Their assumed deviance appears to be of no further interest. This indicates that the traditional churches are losing their influence and, people, such as, the Mormons, are now more socially acceptable.

1960

In 1960, the growing interest in the Council of Churches and 'other' denominations indicate that traditional churches are losing adherents in preference to the non-traditional and ecumenical groups. 'Other' now includes evangelical and interdenominational groups and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Dutch Reform church is also mentioned but only in relation to the Dutch Reform church's stance on apartheid in South Africa.

2000

While newspapers in the data set for 2000 are much bigger, the number of church articles is significantly smaller. Business and commercial interests are a reason the church has been markedly sidelined.

3.2 Analysis of News Topics

News topics have been divided into eight categories. They are:
Church news; sermons, lectures and columns; foreign news; social services; political issues and social justice; formal education; religious belief and faith systems and ecumenism.

A news topic which is not listed above, but which is adhered to, is that of rank in hierarchy. Hierarchical structures are important to journalists for several reasons. As noted in chapter two, journalists prefer those in official positions of authority and responsibility because their facts and opinions are deemed to be official (Gans 1980: 130). Established hierarchies are newsworthy, for example, the Catholic and Anglican structures (ibid 148). The higher someone is in an hierarchy, the more their activities are of importance (Lineham 2000: 147). This explains why such dignitaries, such as the Pope or an archbishop make headlines.

Another reason journalists prefer established hierarchies is that their visibility and rank facilitate journalists in accessing official and reliable information (Lineham 2000: 147). Those who hold authoritative positions in established hierarchical church structures, such as, the Pope and archbishops, are, therefore, quoted in the news (Gans 1980:147).

This may explain why the Anglican City Missioner features much more in the news than the Methodist City Missioner, because the Methodist church lacks the hierarchical structure. The Presbyterian and Methodist churches have a Moderator who is elected annually, thus not an easily recognised person (Lineham 2000: 47).

Church News in 1880

According to Lichter and Amundson (2000: unpaginated), much news is uncontroversial. It consists of 'the factual, straight forward and non-judgmental recounting of routine events'.

Most of the church articles fall in the category of church news, which, in 1880, is general news. The clergy are highly respected, as we read in *The Star*, 'some distinguished clerical gentlemen arrived by the Rotomahana from the North yesterday, for General Synod' (15/4:2). These articles are usually routine church news which are not characterised by news values and are, therefore, not news stories. They indicate how, in 1880, the church is the focal point of the community. Newspapers are relied on by the church and the community for church news. This is categorically stated in *The Star*, (9/4: 2), regarding the opening of General Synod, as follows:

> We (*The Star*) are requested to give notice to the clergy attending the services that the Rev. H. Penny wishes to be informed of their intention to be present in order that he may provide sufficient seats.

The church initiated social gatherings, entertainment and social concerns. Special train services ran people from Lyttelton to Christchurch for church events as they are of widespread public interest. Clergy arriving and

departing by the steamer, clergy visiting Christchurch and with whom they are staying, are news. Church news also consists of clergy appointments, installations, stipends, farewells, deaths and the cemetery board. Much attention is given to raising funds, such as soirees and concerts, for church buildings and their organs. Donations, bequests and reports from the Cathedral Guild with the updates of progress on building the Cathedral and raising money for it, make regular news. Notifications and details of Easter and Harvest Thanksgiving services of mainly the Anglican services include the texts of readings, a synopsis of the sermon, the choir anthem, the hymns sung and which organ music is played. The names of the preacher, the organist, the people who prayed, the readers and the solo singers were also of interest. Details of flower arrangements and who did them are as important as details of services, anniversaries, teas and picnics and who provided which foods. Details of annual and monthly business meetings, such as who presided, if a certain clergyman was late and why. Also recorded was the postponing of meetings because the bishop or scheduled speaker was either held up because of the steamer, or he had got the date and time mixed up. Business included churchwardens declining to allot seatings to people who had not paid their seat rents for the past year until arrears paid. Mission work, both home and abroad, is dealt with at these meetings. Anglican Synod takes up several columns each day that it is in process.

A regular item for church Annual General Meetings (AGMs) and monthly business meetings is 'missions, home and abroad'. These seem to include church organisations with social concerns, for example, the Church Work Society, the Parochial Association, the Charitable Aid, the Sick and Needy Fund and the Benevolent Association. This work is discussed and reported only in the context of their monthly and annual business meetings.

In 1880, Sunday School activities formed a large part of church news. In all three newspapers there was much emphasis placed on the quality of Sunday School teaching and the need to train Sunday School teachers by clergy. Ways of encouraging children to attend Sunday School were discussed. As stated in the *Lyttelton Times* (2/7: 6-7), the teaching skills of Sunday School teachers is important because the Bible had been excluded from 'common Day schools', a result of the secularisation clause in the 1877 Education Act, as discussed in chapter one. Some believed that Christian education teaches students to be ladies and gentlemen and prevents them from growing up pagan.

Also featured was the contention about having Bible reading in schools reinstated. A Bible Reading meeting in Napier stresses the importance of the Bible being read in schools. However, the Bishop of Waiapu said that this meeting reflects only a part of the community (*The Star* 10/6: 3).

Columns, Sermons and Lectures

In the 1880 newspapers, these were often published in the form of synopsi in 1880. These are of church interest and are, therefore, not news stories.

Foreign News

This consisted of the persecution of Jesuits in France and the expelling of Jews of foreign birth from St Petersburg. There was also increasing alarm about religious riots in Ireland and the involvement and concern of the Catholic church (*The Press* 3/6: 2; *Lyttelton Times* 31/8: 2). Mention is also made in a derogatory manner about Mormons. This will be discussed further under 'news values'.

Social Services

Social services, as we know them today, (for example, the work of the City Mission), did not exist in 1880. Instead, as mentioned above under 'church news', such work is discussed in church AGMs and monthly meetings for business as 'missions, home and abroad'. Details of their actual work are not published. Instead, their focus is on their business concerns and their aim to motivate both church people and non-church people to do good works. An excerpt from the *Lyttelton Times* (12/6:6) illustrates this in a report about a meeting of the Church Work Society, that the 'object is to stir up good works' because of much 'ungodliness' within church people and non-church people. The article refers to Bishop Selwyn establishing a similar society in 1861, the aim of which was to 'promote the welfare of the church'. The meeting discussed how much women could do in the church, especially in 'works of charity', such as visiting the asylum and administering communion in hospitals, because 'many lunatics are religious in their sentiments'.

Political Concerns and Social Justice

As discussed in chapter one, the church, from 1880, was deemed to be out of touch with the working and living conditions, particularly, of the working classes. *The Star* (12/4: 3) prints a brief synopsis of a sermon preached by the Dunedin Rev. Davies from his personal observations about being out of work. *The Press* (13/4: 3) reports the same story a little more sympathetically, that Rev. Davies preached about 'the distresses of being out of work. The *Lyttelton Times* words the same story differently again. The Rev. Davies lectured at the Baptist chapel about the distresses caused by unemployment and poorly paid work (13/4: 5). *The Star* perhaps, is more in line with the status quo and the vigilant Prohibition campaign which targeted those who were socially disadvantaged. *The Press* and the *Lyttelton Times* seem to portray the same story as more of a challenge to the church and the government.

Formal Education

The Press in 1880 shows more interest than the other two newspapers in church schools. Articles cover Anglican Christ's College, St Michael's Day School, Catholic Sacred Heart and Methodist plans for a school. There is also concern that children from Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches attend an

Industrial school (*The Press* 13/4: 3). The issue of Bible reading in schools has been acknowledged in church news in reference to Sunday Schools.

Religious Belief

These stories cover mainly two issues. One concerns the Christian Brethren challenging the Mormon doctrine. The other is about the prohibition of Sunday trading which is repeatedly challenged by the same fruitier. He is brought to court several times but only receives minimal charges. This, perhaps, is indicative of the rise of materialism, where people's ambitions to do well materialistically are increasingly overriding the traditions which were adhered to in Britain, such as reverence for Sunday and regular church attendance.

It is interesting to note that the *Lyttelton Times* has a column about fasting for Lent, which says that this tradition was adopted by the Episcopal churches from Eastern and Muslim practices (31/5: 6).

News Topics in 1920

Church News

There is much less church news in 1920. This indicates that the church is not so much the focal point of the community. The visit by the Prince of Wales generates much interest. Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist services in which he participates are detailed and include sermons. But there is a general loss of interest in church services. Easter services are reported occasionally and sometimes the Harvest Thanksgiving is mentioned in Methodist church news. Parish meetings are reported less, The Benevolent Association, Church Work Society, Parochial Association and the Poor and Needy Fund are not mentioned at all. There are reports about the Methodist Conference while it is in progress. The newspapers report very briefly their general business, such as orphanage reports. However, unlike 1880, there are no details of clergy participation in the meetings, nor are there discussion details. There are only a few brief articles about the Anglican Synod which also lack the details of discussion and clergy participation. Items which the news media deemed of interest are that stipends will be raised, but due to inflation clergy will be no better off (*The Star* 7/7:7).

The Salvation Army General Herbert Booth is reported a number of times prior to his arrival and during his visit to Australasia.

The deviance associated with the Mormons appears to be of no further interest. This could indicate that the traditional churches are losing their hold on the public and the media. 'Deviant' people, such as the Mormons, are now seemingly more acceptable.

The apparent acceptance of the Mormons and the smaller amount of coverage in 1920 compared with 1880, indicate the media are showing a declining interest in church activity. The newspapers perhaps reflect a trend, that the Anglican church is losing some of its adherents to the Methodist, Presbyterian and Salvation Army churches.

Columns Lectures and Sermons

This news topic includes civic ceremonies, such as Anzac Day services. The sermons, lectures and columns in the 1920 newspapers reflect a growing interest in the Jewish and non-Christian faiths. A synopsis of Salvation Army General Booth's sermon is of public and media interest. Booth says in the sermon that the 'only hope for maintaining our civilisation is in strengthening Christianity' (*Lyttelton Times* 11/6: 4).

Foreign News

In the 1920 data set there is much about the Catholic churches and their concern about unrest in Ireland. An associated important issue is the conflict between Irish Catholics and the English Empire. Anglicans in Australia are reported to be increasingly alarmed by the Catholic disloyalty to the Throne and the Empire, and view it as a 'menace to our liberties' (*The Star* 28/7: 7; *The Press* 29/7: 8). This anxiety is reflected in the high number of stories about the Melbourne Archbishop Mannix, who is Irish, during his trip to America and Britain. He is alleged to be connected with Sinn Fein, Labour concerns and to be anti-Empire. There are, however stories which are supportive of Mannix and which criticise the English government and its supporters for setting up Mannix in order to create negative publicity. This possibly reflects how the growing Labour concerns were ignored by governments and the church. Mannix is an example of the few clergy who, against much opposition from fellow clergy and government, support the working classes in their plight, as discussed in chapter two.

A related issue reported in the 1920 newspapers was the church's concern in communism. The Catholic church wanted a settlement between the government and Sinn Fein because it was 'alarmed by the amount of Bolshevik sentiment in Sinn Fein' (*The Press* 25/5: 6). The Catholic bishop warned against setting up a Workers Republic in Ireland as it would deny the right to private property (*The Press* 25//5: 6).

The concern about communism is reflected also in General Booth's comments. On his return to London from his Australasian tour, General Booth says of the Australian Labour Party, that it consists of 'men of moral and religious cackle' but who 'despise the Bolshevik cackle' (*The Press* 4/8:6).

In news from Australia, General Booth, speaking on Prohibition, said that he would prefer Australia to be 'dry', but is 'unsure if the will of some should be imposed on others' (*The Press* 10/5: 7). The Methodist Conference is to appeal to the Medical Congress in Australasia for a statement on prohibition (*The Press* 17/5: 8).

The Press wrote that Methodists and Presbyterians in Australia, under the headline, 'A Pressing Problem', were alarmed about the lack of clergy candidates. They say that the war killed many young men. The war also disrupted people's church-going habit (*The Lyttelton Times* 19/5: 7). The war, they say, is the cause the mental and physical strain (*The Press* 19/5: 7).

Another Catholic living in Australia who is reported almost daily for a period is a German priest, Father Jerger. Against much protest Father Jerger is deported because he is German. The Catholic church tries, with much support, to have the deportation overturned. This story is discussed further under 'news values'.

The Salvation Army General Booth's visit to Australasia is a regular news item. This reflects the falling away from the traditional churches and a growing interest in non-traditional ones by parishioners and the media.

Ecumenism

In 1920, ecumenism is of growing interest to the media. *The Star* reports that ecumenism is discussed by the Anglican Lambeth Conference in London. Topics for discussion will include Christian Science, theosophy, spiritualism, race problems and the position of women in church administration (*The Star* 31/5: 8). Later in August, *The Star* features a discussion on how to unite the church and the advantages of a united church (*The Star* 13/8: 7; *The Press* 14/8: 9; 16/8: 7). This may reflect the Anglican church's acknowledgement that it was losing its congregation to other denominations, and the Anglican church could no longer refuse to acknowledge them.

Social Services

1920 marked the end of the 40 years of the failed Prohibition campaign. Targets of the campaign, such as gambling, censorship and prohibition of alcohol, remain items of concern for the Methodists, Presbyterians and the Council of Churches. They lobby the government successfully regarding illegal gambling and restricting bookmaking (*The Star* 20/4: 6). The Council of churches continues to lobby the government for bookmaking to be made illegal, and the closure of postal and telegraph offices for betting (*The Star* 18/5: 2). According to *The Press*, statements made to the government by individual churches about racing and gambling are ineffective. They said that the Council of Churches needs to write these letters (17/8: 6).

A letter written by the Christchurch Presbytery is printed out and a copy of it sent to the Prime Minister, protesting against the issue of more racing permits in respect to the use of the totalisator (*The Star* 11/8: 8). The Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs acknowledge the letter (*The Star* 17/8: 10). According to *The Star*, there is a need for public education about gambling (27/7: 8). There is a decision to form church councils to deal with public questions (*The Star* 17/8: 10).

Prohibition of alcohol remains an issue to combat (*Lyttelton Times* 27/7: 3; 12/8: 9).

Censorship continues regarding picture posters. The Council of Churches supports the government to extend the censorship (*The Star* 27/7: 6). The council receives a letter of acknowledgement from the Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs on the matter (*The Star*: 17/8: 10).

Nurse Maude has begun her nursing work in the community. Her work is supported by the Council of Churches who give her a cheque for fifteen pounds and fifteen shillings (*The Star* 24/4: 8). Nurse Maude is invited by the council to give a lecture about her work (*The Star* 18/5: 2).

Much of the church's social services, particularly the concerns of the Methodists and Presbyterians, are no longer confined to church news. This may be a result of the church having become more marginalised and less of an influence in the community. It man also be an indication of the need for Methodists and Presbyterians to appeal for public support because of their smaller and less affluent congregations.

Political Issues and Social Justice

The Methodists and the Council of Churches groups are actively concerned about the need to reform prisoners and to prohibit indentured labour in New Zealand owned Pacific Islands (*Lyttelton Times* 27/7:).

The Methodist church supports Labour concerns. It says that problems, such as industrial unrest, are due to 'unjust and oppressive economic conditions which are contrary to Christian principles' (*Lyttelton Times* 6/3: 8). According to *The Press*, it is time for the church to 'show sympathy against profiteering and other evils' (6/3: 9). *The Star* writes that, according to the Methodist conference, the church cannot stand aloof from the workers' poor conditions, such as sweating. The church 'favours an economic system which favours equitable distribution of the rewards of industry' in order that the worker has a share of the profits and risks of business. The aim of chritianising industrial relations is for 'industry to become a religious experience, interpreting in economic terms the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God' (*The Star* 4/3: 5).

Religious Belief and Faith Systems

'The church is no longer the centre of life for people' writes *The Press,* in reporting about the Anglican church showing films, recognising that the cinema now has an important role to play (2/6: 9).

Where sectarian conflict was evident in the nineteenth century, the doctrinal differences within denominations are now what make news. There are reports about conflicting opinions in the Anglican church about the Divorce Bill (*The Star* 6/5: 7) and church reform (*The Star* 12/4: 6; 13/4: 7).

There is conflict in the Presbyterian church about adult baptism (*The Star* 8/6: 7). There is contention about the Catholic church stating that civil marriages are not valid (*The Star* 2/8: 6).

Ecumenism

In 1920, ecumenism is of growing interest to parishioners and the media. This is reflected in stories about the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches discussing Church Union. *The Star* (9/3: 3) reports that 'the Methodist Conference discusses Church Union with Presbyterians and Congregationalists. *The Press* (23/6: 7) reports in the foreign news section that Church Union was discussed at Lambeth Conference. The Archbishop of Melbourne was selected to open the subject.

1960 News Topics

Church News

By 1960, news of church services is featured in the classified section. Easter services are rarely mentioned as news. Harvest Thanksgiving services are covered occasionally. However, clergy appointments, installations, retirements, farewells and deaths are still regular news items, as are church anniversaries, memorials and bequests. Items about church buildings are concerned with their upkeep and preservation. Sunday Schools are no longer part of church news except for the Methodist Sunday School scripture examinations (*The Press* 28/7: 21). Instead, there is more news about church schools which is discussed under Formal Education section below. Temperance meetings hardly feature, and church groups with social concerns, such as The Sick and Needy Fund, are not mentioned at all. Instead, there is more media interest in Social Services, which is considered later in this section. 'Missions at home and abroad' are just as important, but the 1960 newspapers focus more on the National Council of Churches (NCC) involvement with overseas missions.

Programmes and activities of Anglican and Presbyterian church workshops about how to reach out to the community (*The Star* 19/3: 11; 30/4: 2; 23/8: 16) indicate that the church realises it is losing its congregations and is wondering how to draw them back. A bishop's sermon at Synod speaks of the importance of the church changing with the world (*The Star* 16/7: 2). Youth camps of various denominations are regular items of interest. Methodist conferences and issues raised by the National Council of Churches are more regular news items, as is the Salvation Army. Seventh Day Adventists are reported to have a growing membership (*The Star* 10/3: 2). The Baptist church is also regularly reported, notably its concern about vacant pastorates, but also that their membership has increased since the Graham Crusades (*The Press* 13/6: 13). Under a headline, 'No Marked Return To Church Found In City', *The Press* reports that official church reports from the Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist churches find a slight increase in their congregations following the Billy Graham Crusades. The Catholic, Lutheran and Jews maintain a constant level, while the Adventists say that their numbers 'tailed off back to normal after a few weeks' (6/5: 3). *The Star* reports that clergymen say that the Graham crusades have had a lasting effect over the last year. Some laymen, however, claim that it is an emotional response and will wear off (12/4: 21). This suggests that firstly, the Church of England has lost much of its prominence to other congregations. Secondly, it indicates that churches realise they are losing their congregations and are concerned about keeping their current members.

Columns, Sermons and Lectures

In the 1960 data set, there are columns for Easter and Whitsun as well as synopsi of sermons. There are other sermons which address the fact that there are changes in society to which the church needs to adapt (*The Star* 16/7: 2; 30/7: 5).

The Press reports criticisms from a Methodist questionnaire about the Billy Graham Crusade (12/8: 13). *The Star* does too, but also publishes synopsi of four of Billy Graham's sermons which he preached in Africa (16/3: 19; 24/3: 12; 1/4: 4; 16/4: 12). This shows the mixed reactions of the churches and media to the success of the non-traditional and evangelical preacher.

The Press and *The Star* publish several Anzac Day church services and the St John's Ambulance Church Parade. Some Anzac church services of combined Protestants and Catholics specify that they do not include clergy (*The Press* 16/4: 15; *The Star* 16/4: 7). This reflects society's need for religion, but emphasises that the church as an institution has proved to be disappointing to the public.

Foreign News

There is much media interest in Billy Graham. There are detailed reports of his successful Crusade in Africa, his pilgrimage to Israel and the honour, respect, hospitality and friendliness shown to him by government officials and journalists.

There is a lot of church involvement in apartheid in South Africa. The Dutch Reform Church receives much publicity for being pro-apartheid as does the Anglican Church for vigorously opposing it. Clergy in Capetown appeal to the government for police to end violence. Blacks and whites pray side by side in many churches. A Negro is amongst seven new cardinals in Rome (*The Star* 4/3: 1).

Reports of communism in Cuba and China include the church worrying about the threat of communism. A Catholic bishop was imprisoned for suspected espionage in Peking (*The Star* 25/7: 1).

Jews are urged in Germany to forget hatred (*The Press* 15/3: 15), while Jews in America suspect discrimination and a synagogue in Alabama is attacked (*The Star* 1/3: 5).
Jehovah's Witnesses allow their family members to die because their doctrine does not allow blood transfusions. One example is reported in *The Star* (25/3: 11) of a father refusing his baby son a blood transfusion, resulting in the baby's death. The father pleaded not guilty of manslaughter. This case is reported in *The Star* during the duration of the court case.

British traditional churches, Anglicans, Presbyterians and non-Conformists are trying to present Christianity as relevant by sponsoring a new translation of the Gospels which has 'no archaisms'. The aim is for the Bible to be easily read by everyone (*The Press* 9/4: 13). This suggests that the church is trying attract former adherents. Another example is a new hymnbook with 'better poetry and music', published by Cambridge University Press in London (*The Press* 12/4: 17).

Social Services

By 1960, the church appears to be more active in social services with government support *The Star* (10/3: 11). The NCC opens hospital chapels, sponsors hospital and prison chaplains and a University chaplain for students. Churches plan a boarding hall for university students. The Anglicans and Methodists open residential care for the elderly which are fully subsidised by the government (*The Press* 25/3: 11). The Presbyterians are given 10,000 pounds which they use to buy a residential facility for the elderly (*The Press* 3/8: 15). The Methodist Mission

celebrates 21 years. It aims for participation between professional and volounteer groups so as not to burden the taxpayer (*The Press* 22/6: 16). The NCC is trying to enlist the government's help for Russian refugees and appeals to churches to aid earthquake victims. The Presbyterians suggest a sponsored immigrant scheme for underdeveloped countries (*The Star* 9/6: 13). The Catholics open 'Marylands', a home and school for needy boys (*The Star* 9/3: 16). At a public meeting, a Salvation Army social worker, speaks of the importance of unmarried mums to keep their babies (*The Star* 15/3: 6). These reports show an interest by the media and public in the practical work of the church. The Baptists, perhaps, are not yet well enough established or known, because they were refused government assistance for a home for the elderly on which they had been working for twelve months (*The Press* 30/8: 11).

Political Issues and Social Justice

The stories in 1960 show that some clergy are no longer supporting the government stance in issues, such as, racism. There is conflict within churches, particularly the Episcopalian, about whether Maori should be excluded from the All black team to play in South Africa. A Maori Missioner, Catholic Rev. R Elliot, will now no longer play rugby nor attend a match because of this issue. Rev. Elliot will not wear his Victoria Cross again, nor partake in Anzac services (*The Star* 17/3: 14; 2/5: 15; 6/6: 10). Rev. Elliot is an example of the few clergy who make a stand against mainstream government trends. The Jews also protest against Maori being excluded from the South African tour (*The Star* 23/3: 14).

Further examples of certain church people who do not conform to mainstream trends are the NCC and some Methodists who plan to raise the level of electioneering (*The Star* 26/4: 16; 12/4: 2). The Methodists claim it is important for Christians to interest themselves in building up standards of political morality and not leave it to Parliament. Electors, they say, must be able to question political candidates and suggest a list of questions (*The Star* 5/4: 2).

A further indication of churches being active in political and social issues is the Catholic prison chaplain praising prison reform (*The Star* 12/4: 14). He addressed the problem of overcrowding in prisons and crime (*The Star* 26/4: 16). The senior prison chaplain raises the issue of New Zealand's penal policy at a NCC meeting. The church need to think about participating in caring for prisoners and changing public opinion about the needs of prisoners (*The Star* 7/7: 14).

The World Council of Churches sends a letter concerning disarmament to the Summit Conference (*The Press* 13/5: 13). This is another example of the church having moved beyond its own structures and becoming involved in controversial concerns.

The issue of religious broadcasting on television and radio is commented on by the Prime Minister, Walter Nash. Under the headline, 'Beliefs will be based on television', *The Star* publishes an article from the Presbyterian magazine, *Outlook*, in which Nash writes that the 'educational potential of television' must be able to spread the

Christian message, and to suppress contrary influences. Churches should be aware of this opportunity to convey the Christian message to people's homes (*The Star* 8/4: 16). This indicates how the state, (for its own purposes), has harnessed the church to promote behaviour and ways of thinking. This I have discussed in chapter one.

Formal Education

In 1960, there are reports of church schools celebrating reunions (*The Star* 14/5: 6). *The Star* (14/4: 5) informs girls applying for entry to Rangi-Ruru to ask the minister endorsing their applications to submit an independent reference to the head mistress.

Religious instruction in schools continues to be an important issue. The Catholic Holy Name Society appeals to the Federation of the School Committee Association for the state to financially assist private schools (*The Star* 16/3: 3). Catholics form an Education Council (*The Press* 5/4: 19), Protestants form The New Zealand Council for Christian Education (*The Press* 16/3: 24) and also a Presbyterian Christian Education Department (*The Star* 19/3: 11), for the Bible to be taught in schools. The NCC sends in submissions to the Commission (*The Press* 28/4: 14). There is much debate about religion in schools which echoed discussions that occurred during the period leading up to the secularisation clause of the Education Act in 1877. For example, questions were raised about the validity of religion in schools, with some claiming that its influence is harmful because sectarian and outdated principles will be taught (*The Press* 18/5: 16). Critics also claim that the 'only justifiable education system is a secular one'. N.G. Smith is reported to have said in submissions to the Education Commission that to teach the Christian faith is "sectarian because doctrines are out of date". "The Education system should acknowledge that many people of high character are unable to accept a religious faith" (*The Press* 30/6: 21). New Zealand has so many denominations and *The Star* (2/8: 10) reports that many fear that sectarian strife would break up the education system. There is much discussion about a volountary system and the secularization clause in the 1877 Education Act. A second reading of the Religious Teaching Bill, to eliminate the secular character of education in public schools, is refused by the House of Representatives (*The Star* 18/8: 5,8). This indicates that the churches' bitter sectarian conflict of the 19th century had resulted in a lasting loss of respect and trust.

The growing debate concerning the supremacy of Christian principles and the eventual legal recognition of pluralism is reflected in Presbyterian schools questioning the compulsory attendance at chapel, for example, St Andrews (*The Star* 11/8: 14). The Christian Education committee was to investigate the compulsory chapel attendances at boarding schools following a concerned discussion about pupils leaving the church following confirmation, while still at boarding school (*The Star* 9/6: 13).

There was also discussion that religion should also be a subject for School Certificate and university (*The Press* 28/4: 14; 5/8: 17).

Beliefs

Issues about Sunday activities continued to be of media interest. It was illegal for land agent offices to be open on Sunday (*The Star* 8/4: 2). Fruit and vegetable growers were requesting to be open on Sundays for trading (*The Star* 30/8: 3). The Baptist church urged all its members to honour public Sunday worship and to oppose hotels opening on Sunday (*The Press* 13/6: 10).

The Christchurch City Council prohibited sport on Sundays in its parks and reserves (*The Star* 15/6: 5). This resulted in Sunday sports moving out to the country, which, according to the Christchurch Presbytery, threatened church affairs (*The Star* 11/8: 2).

The Star (17/3: 12; 14/4: 5) reported some discussion about the Christchurch City Council allowing more films to be screened on Sundays. This was approved by the National Council of Churches (NCC) and Presbyterians. Film titles and descriptions were to be submitted to the Town Clerk to ensure suitability for Sunday screenings. No employee would be compelled to work on Sunday. This shows a continued but declining reverence held for Sundays but also, a cooperation between the church and the state.

Jehovah's Witnesses continued to refuse blood transfusions resulting in deaths of family members. Prayers of a Christian Science couple and their church failed to heal their baby (*The Star* 15/8: 1).

The Press (12/4: 14) reported that more Christian books were being sold as a result of the Billy Graham Crusades. Methodists and others, however, claimed the Crusade had not produced any significant growth in their congregations (*The Press* 12/8: 13). Presbyterian Lloyd Geering does not encourage people to hear Billy Graham's associate when he comes to New Zealand because he is boring. These items about Billy Graham show his success is attracting people from the traditional churches. He is also of interest to the media.

Ecumenism

According to newspapers, church union became an important issue which was discussed by a wider variety of denominations. The NCC asserted that a united church could be more effective in the community (*The Star* 23/6: 6). Student Christian Conferences and Interchurch activities were reported. The church recognised it needed to improve interdenominational relations. A bishop voiced concern that church union will not be achieved because the church is too interested in itself (*The Press* 11/3: 13).

Newspapers reported that churches were to begin using television and radio for religious broadcasts. The churches approached this as an ecumenical project with the aim of conveying Christian worship, thought and action to the public (*The Press* 13/3: 12; *The Star* 18/3: 2).

Another attempt to draw people back to the churches is in foreign news. A new translation of the Gospels has done away with 'archaisms', such as, 'thou', 'ye', 'brethren', and 'verily'. This translation, originally a Presbyterian

idea, was sponsored by Anglican and non-conformist groups. (*The Press* 9/4: 13). The breaking away from tradition is evident in these ecumenical activities.

News Topics in 2000

Church News

Media interest in church news had declined markedly. It no longer consisted of clerical appointments, installations, arrivals, farewells or deaths. Neither were church activities, meetings, business or otherwise, news. There were a few stories about church buildings and a few about churches being burgled. This indicates the increasingly marginalised status of the church in society. Instead of reports of Easter or Harvest Thanksgiving services, there were two small articles about Easter services. One stated that attendances at Easter services at the Anglican Cathedral and the Catholic Cathedral were in 'record numbers', and services were 'packed to overflowing' (*The Press* 24/4: 3). The other report included a photograph of the Crucifixion scene being enacted for Good Friday, and brief comment about non-traditional ways other churches celebrate Good Friday (*The Press* 22/4: 4).

The small notices about Easter services indicate that the media show a significantly smaller interest in religion.

The Anglican church celebrating the founding of Canterbury 150 years ago was reported in *The Press* (15/5: 1; 16/6: 1; 20/6: 24). Dignitaries, including members of Parliament, the Christchurch Mayor and Cathedral choristers went to Canterbury, England, to partake in the celebration services.

Another item of media interest was the Burkes Pass Presbyterian church which its rural residents were fighting to keep from being shifted to Mt Cook. What was significant about this church is that it is 'one of the first union churches in New Zealand', 'built in 1872 by the Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic denominations (*The Press* 17/5: 4; 20/5: 4; 27/5: 19).

Columns Sermons and Lectures

Sermons, lectures and columns were no longer about spiritual issues, nor the church's responsibility in the community. Of the two articles in *The Press*, one looked at why the Catholic church is short of priests (15/7: w/e 9), while the other article advocated that regular church attendance and prayer result in better health and weight loss (10/6: w/e 17). There are considerably fewer stories run about Anzac Day services.

Foreign News

In 2000, the Catholic church featured in most foreign news. The Pope visited the Holy Land, urging unity amongst Catholics in the Middle East (*The Press* 22/3: B1). When he visited Israel, he expressed grief to the Jews for what happened during the Holocaust, but did not apologise for the Catholic church's apparent indifference (*The Press* 24/3: B1). He apologised for sins the Catholic church committed over the centuries. But, in reference to the Holocaust, many said his apology is not specific enough (*The Press* 15/3: 9). In his appeals for

peace and reconciliation, the Pope was criticised by some American churches for his use of the word 'Christian' instead of 'Catholic' They said the Pope was being presumptuous in speaking for the whole church and overstepping his authority. But Billy Graham thought not (*The Press* 28/3).

The Press (29/5: 12) reported that although many disregard the Catholic church's authority, Catholics and those with high moral standards still look up to the Vatican as being powerful enough to influence laws and events. Such an occasion was the World Gay Pride Event to be held in Rome. The Vatican was urged to oppose it (*The Press* 29/5: 12).

Other reports suggested that the Catholic church encourages others to maintain high standards, for example, the church's effort to stop women having abortions by giving them financial aid (*The Press* 9/6: B1).

Making amends for past wrongs was important also to the Australian Anglican, Baptist and Catholic church leaders. They joined a pilgrimage in the cause of reconciliation which included aboriginal issues (*The Press* 5/6: 14).

A Jewish leader of the Ultra Orthodox Shas party, however, was reported by *The Press* (8/8: 9) to have a different view in regarding past wrongs. He angered Palestinians by calling them snakes, thus thwarting hopes for peace in the Middle East. The leader also angered Jews by saying that the Holocaust was God's retribution against Jewish sinners.

Newspaper reports of the continuing Catholic and Protestant unrest in Ireland included dealing with the tragedy of 'Bloody Sunday' by marching silently with candles and torches through Londonderry (*The Press* 28/3: 7).

The Anglican church does not follow the example of the Catholics in maintaining an undivided stand on contentious issues. An example is reported in *The Press* (9/8: 7) of Gloucester Cathedral being used to film Harry Potter's 'Hogwart's School of Wizadry and Witchcraft', as Canterbury Cathedral had refused, because some 'people might take offence' It is doubtful whether such an event would have occurred in 1960. This indicates the extent to which the Anglican church has been secularised. This article also reflects the divided nature of the Anglican church. An English school, reports *The Press* (30/3: 12), refused to bow to secular forces and banished Harry Potter 'because his magical teachings go against the teachings of the Bible.

Another event which goes against traditional Christian standards and which illustrates that they no longer have legal status, is an article about two American lesbian women and their marriage ceremony. The article discusses the conflict over the Christian perception of marriage and the need to adapt the law to 'accomodate social changes' (*The Press* 1/3: w/e).

Social Services

Most newspaper articles in 2000 about social issues concern the Anglican City Mission, the Methodist Mission, Presbyterian Support and the Salvation Army. The reason for categorising the city missions under social services, not church news, is that the whole community is invited to be interested and involved. For example, newspaper readers are appealed to for money, food and clothing. When the City Mission, for example, asks for warm clothing, the public responds generously (*The Star* 2/6: 1; 14/6: 2; 16/6: 3). Businesses also recognise the work done by the city missions and also respond generously, with electric blankets and heaters, and even a car (*The Star* 26/7: 6). This can also be an indication that the church has lost many of its adherents and needs to appeal to the public for funds.

The high regard held for the City Missioners is indicated by their comments being sought in regard to important social issues. Examples include: 'the yearlong delay in axing the work-for-the-dole scheme (*The Press* 18/7: 2), and additional funding for Child, Youth and Family Services (*The Press* 16/6: 4).

The Press (8/8: 22) reports of other churches involved in the community are The Christchurch East Training Assistance Board, a group of six local churches who have set up a house to help young parents.
The community, including the Waimakariri District Mayor, reacts in surprise when the Presbyterian Support decide to change its focus and sell its residential homes for the elderly (*The Press* 9/8: 4; 10/8: 4).

Political Issues and Social Justice

Stories dealing with political issues and social justice are few. We read in *The Press* that the Community Lawyer of the Year, Paul Straubel, was nominated by Canon David Morrell (*The Press* 15/6: 9). The other stories are about moral objections to changing traditional pratices. Euthanasia is opposed by the leader of the Christian Heritage Political Party, Graham Capill (*The Press* 16/6: 9).

Belief and Faith Systems

Stories about belief and faith systems are of a controversial nature concerning moral issues, such as the sanctity of marriage and homosexuality. These stories are looked into under 'news values'.

The Catholic church is trying to be realistic about encouraging people to adhere to its high morals, for example, the value of life. Therefore, it is considering giving cash to 'women facing the decision to have an abortion because of financial pressures' (*The Press* 5/4: 3). The Auckland Bishop 'has given qualified support for contraception outside marriage'. He says the Catholic church does not have a policy about sex outside of marriage, but if people are going to do it, 'then certainly restrict the harm' that they may well cause to themselves and to others' (*The Press* 17/4: 9).

The Press (15/8: 3) reports that the son of deeply religious and caring parents, whose faith is not stated, dies because medical treatment was refused. Instead of seeking medical treatment, their church had prayed for him.

Another article reports that an Anglican spokesman is opposed to a new book which scientists herald as a genetic breakthrough. The Anglican says he is not against science, but "neither is God redundant" (*The Press* 28/6: 9). This reflects the church's continuing struggle with science and modernity, as discussed in chapter one

Ecumenism

Several stories in *The Press* during 2000 are about two rural churches whose communities are fighting to keep them from being moved away.

In *The Star* (3/5: 1), an Anglican minister in Diamond Harbour is running a marathon to raise money to build a community church to be shared with Presbyterians, Methodists and Catholics.

3.3 Analysis of News Values

The news values employed vary in each of the data sets. In this chapter, the news value, 'elite centred', has not been set aside to categorise church dignitaries, such as the archbishop or the Pope, who are often used by the media.

News Values in 1880

Conflict

In 1880, conflict is the most visible news value in all three newspapers which occurs mostly in foreign news. There are priests who declare either that they will, or deny that they will not, leave the church to join a rival group (*The Star* 8/5: 2; 15/7: 3).

The Pope declares civil marriages to be incomplete and he condemns divorce (*The Star* 17/4: 2).

A Catholic bishop in America condemns trade unions (*The Star* 29/6: 3).

At a Bible Reading meeting in Napier, where the opinion prevails that the Bible should be read in schools, the Bishop of Waiapu says that this meeting reflects only some of the opinions of the community (*The Star* 10/6: 3). This reflects how bitter the sectarian conflict was which resulted in the secularisation clause in the 1877 Education Act.

Sunday laws and Sunday trading are conflict stories in both foreign and local news. A Christchurch fruiterer regularly upsets people by trading on Sundays, with the court giving him minimal fines (*Lyttelton Times* 3/4: 3). It is suggested that the fine is hardly a deterrent, and perhaps, that the Trading Act is no longer applicable (*The Star* 28/5: 2). This reflects the colonial attitude of wanting to abandon traditions and get on with their new life.

Mormons are regular news items in both foreign and local news. *The Star* (2/6: 3) reports that despite public opinion they build a new church in Chicago. In foreign news, newspapers report that the Mormons are trying to

have Utah "admitted as a state" so that they will be able to expel their opponents by taxation (*The Press* 11/3: 3; *The Star* 11/3: 3).

In Canterbury, their doctrine is challenged by the Christian Brethren (*The Star* 5/3: 3). Shooting occurs during the Mormons baptising new converts. It is assumed that an irate husband is responsible (*The Star* 15/5: 2).

The contention of Catholic clergy having to pay income tax is raised (*The Star* 16/3: 8)

In Ireland, the Lord Mayor of Dublin says that the 'distress in Ireland is as great as was feared', and a Catholic Archbishop warns against agitation, including 'disastrous doctrines and morals' (*The Press* 3/6: 2). *The Press* reports 'serious religious riots' on 27th August. The 'Irish crisis' is arising 'from embittered religious feeling' (*Lyttelton Times* 31/8).

Moral and Social Order

The Prohibition campaign which began in 1880, is a reason Sunday Schools, temperance and prohibition meetings are prolific. As noted above, only the meetings which are reported in connection with the church are included in the analysis. The campaign targeted particularly the lower socio-economic groups. As discussed in chapter one, people who were poor were considered to be so because they were lazy and lived immoral and drunken lives. There were only a few clergymen who disputed this ethos. This issue has already been noted under 'news topics'.

In Ireland, a Catholic Archbishop warns against 'disastrous doctrines and morals' associated with religious agitation in Ireland (*The Press* 3/6: 6).

Moral and Social Disorder

In 1880, all three newspapers frequently report the Mormons in association with moral disorder. In foreign news, the Mexicans offer to protect the Mormons but will not tolerate polygamy (*The Star* 11/3: 3).

In Australia, the Anglican Synod brings to attention a marriage shop where over 400 marriages per year are celebrated 'in an unseemly manner' (*The Star* 3/7: 3).

Quirky

There is much church news about obtaining new organs for the newly built churches. *The Star* runs a story in which the Methodists are proud owners of a new organ but which does not fit into the church. Retired men in the congregation sing with their hymnbooks upside down (11/5: 3).

Scandal

Stories which can be classified thematically using the news value of 'scandal' concern the Mormons in all three newspapers during 1880. Mormon elders are alleged to have kidnapped wives with children (*The Press* 4/3: 2). A headline in *The Star* read 'Who Is Safe?', when a Mormon convert is put on the steamer bound for Utah by a Mormon elder and her husband issues a warrant for her arrest. The wife says she is unhappy at home because she is brutally treated (3/3: 3; 4/3: 3). The *Lyttelton Times* wrote the same story under the headline 'Mormon scandal', that an 'unhappy wife ... tried to bolt' with another Mormon (5/3: 2)
Clergy are found out to be either frauds or to have committed forgery. A Prelate has been declared bankrupt (*Lyttelton Times* 11/6: 5).

Deviance

Themes of deviance are present in reports in all three newspapers about the Mormons. They give unsuccessful lectures (*The Star* 13/4: 3). Their new converts are sent in 'batches 'to Utah (*The Star* 29/5: 2). Baptisms in other denominations are generally not reported, however, Mormon baptisms are portrayed as deviant, for example, *The Star* (2/3: 2) reports under a headline, 'Poor Creatures', that two Mormon converts were baptised.

News Values in 1920

Conflict

In all three newspapers there is much coverage of the political unrest in Ireland. This unrest is linked with fears of communism, anti-Empire agitation, Sinn Feinism and labour movements. Suspicions of communism in other areas, for example, Bolshevistik revolutions, are reported in Muslim countries (*The Star* 19/8: 7). Irish bishops warn Irish agriculturists against the Soviet System which aims at establishing a workers' republic as this would deny the right to private property (*Lyttelton Times* 25/5: 7. The Catholic church desires settlement between the government and Sinn Fein because it is alarmed by the amount of Bolshevik sentiment in Sinn Fein (*The Press* 25/5: 6).

In Ireland, trade union uprisings have resulted in many workers being sent to prison. Irish bishops resolve that 'responsibility rests on the government to substitute cruelty, vengeance and injustice for equity, moderation and fair play' (*The Star* 15/4: 7). An Irish bishop writes to the Dublin newspapers, protesting against military raids and deportation of men without trial (*The Star* 3/5: 7). It is said that terrorism and fires in Ireland are believed to be a policy to make Ireland ungovernable by England (*Lyttelton Times* 17/4: 6). Irish priests are being shot for no apparent reasons (*The Press* 13/8).

There is much conflict concerning the Irish-born Melbourne Archbishop Mannix. His speeches in America to large crowds and his intentions to visit his home village in Ireland (*The Star* 19/7: 7) attract much media and public interest. Mannix is said to have links with Sinn Fein (*The Star* 19/3: 2; *The Press* 17/6: 7; 30/7: 5; *The Star* 6/8: 7). Fears of Labour concerns overriding Conservatives are also expressed through Archbishop Mannix's

words and actions (*The Press* 24/6: 6; 17/7: 9; 21/7: 7; *The Star* 5/8: 7; *Lyttelton Times* 23/7:7; 27/7: 3; 30/7: 7;). But also, large crowds support Mannix.

Mannix says that 'hostility is directed at him partly because of his role in attempts to defeat conscription and saving Australia from military despotism and for defending Ireland. He declares that as an Australian citizen, his duty is to stand by the weak. He was compelled to use his influence on the behalf of the workers through his name being associated with Labour politics' (*Lyttelton Times* 12/8: 6).

According to a *Lyttelton Times* report, some bishops regard Mannix as a leader of democratic thought and deny reports that the Vatican has rebuked him (*Lyttelton Times* 14/8: 7). An English bishop condemns the British government for its treatment of Mannix (*The Press* 10/8: 7). In different parts of Australia, protesters demonstrate against the British government's treatment of Mannix (*The Press* 16/8: 7).

The Press (23/3: 6) reported that the fear of anarchy is of concern in London and also in Australia. The Anglican church views with alarm the Catholic attitude as a menace to liberty and as disloyalty to the throne and Empire (*The Star* 28/7: 7). The Bishop of Auckland criticizes English Parliamentary power (*The Press* 31/7: 7).

In Australia, there is much protest about the internment and deportation of a German Catholic priest, Father Jerger. He maintains his innocence and is supported by the Catholic church and large crowds which demonstrate outside the court (*The Press* 21: 7; 22: 7). Crews instructed to deport Father Jerger refuse to do so and unions will boycott any steamship carrying a deportee without a fair trial (*The Star* 2/6: 22; *The Press* 22/7: 7). Counter protesters insist that the religious aspect should not allow the treatment of Germans to be relaxed (*The Star* 31/5: 4).

There is dispute in Australia about Archbishop Mannix returning to Australia, as his case is seen to be similar to that of Father Jerger (*The Press* 7/8: 7).

The New Zealand Council of Churches draws the Prime Minister's attention to the influential Catholic magazine, the *Tablet*, which allegedly undermines the loyalty of Catholics to England. According to *The Star* (22/6: 4) and *Lyttelton Times* (14/8: 6), the *Tablet,* states that "to hate the Empire and Britain", is not a solution to the unrest in Ireland.

At a Conscientious Objectors meeting, the Rev. Walker suggests that all COs serve a term of imprisonment (*Lyttelton Times* 13/7: 7). This reflects conflict amongst clergy concerning their position on such issues.
At the Holy Trinity Anglican church, Christchurch, a sermon is preached on Sinn Feinism and the British Empire. A meeting is to be held which will pass a resolution to support solidarity of the Empire and against Ireland becoming a Republic (*The Star* 9/8: 6).

The Star (6/3: 7) reported a rejection of the Anglican church's authority. This was revealed in London when the Primate's clause in the divorce bill, which forbids clergy to remarry any divorced person in any Anglican church while the spouse is still living, was rejected in the House of Lords. According to *The Star*, if the Primate's clause was accepted, it would 'raise the question of an Established Church. If the church attempts to discipline clergy who disagree with their leaders, many opponents of the disestablishment may reconsider their attitude'. There are fears that the Primate's clause, if accepted, could 'lift the curtain of a great drama'.

In local news, there are inner conflicts in the Presbyterian church regarding adult baptism (*The Star* 12/4: 7), and in the Anglican church about church reform. There is dispute about Catholic priests being exempt from paying tax (*The Star* 16/3: 8).

In Auckland, a Presbyterian minister is suspended because of his views on baptism (*The Press* 11/8: 6). In Christchurch, an Anglican curate is forced to resign because of his views on church reform (*The Star* 12/8: 7). Following his farewell sermon, parishioners drew up a petition, protesting against his dismissal (*The Star* 13/4: 7).

Moral and Social Order

The 1920 newspapers addressed the Methodists' active concerns with Labour issues. The Methodist Conference asks that the 'church consider its attitude concerning industrial unrest being due to 'unjust and oppressive economic conditions' which are 'contrary to Christian principles' (*Lyttelton Times* 6/3: 8). Improved cooperation is necessary between employer and employee. Solutions to industrial unrest will be solved if Christian principles are applied to commercial, social and individual relationships' (*Lyttelton Times* 6/3: 8; *The Star* 3/3: 3).

In Australia, the Methodist conference is considering making total abstinence from alcohol a condition of church membership (*Lyttelton Times* 8/3: 7). This reflects the Methodist church being a strong supporter of the Prohibition campaign.

Another militant concern of the campaign was moral standards. In Sydney, the Methodist, Anglican and Protestant churches are to study the rise in crime and the decline of sexual morals (*The Star* 5/5: 19). They discuss the 'loose sexual morals' and the need for sex education as they consider that these evils existed due to ignorance (*Lyttelton Times* 13/5: 6).

Gambling is another vice the campaign sought to eradicate. The New Zealand Council of Churches AGM discusses combating gambling and advocating prohibition. The Presbyterians also seek to have the Totalisator abolished. They oppose the increased issue of racing permits to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Internal Affairs. These news articles were discussed above.

The Methodist conference is concerned about the welfare of others and the need to reform prisoners. The Methodists and the Council of Churches seek to prohibit indentured labour in the islands under New Zealand's

control (*Lyttelton Times*, *The Star* 22/6: 4). These news articles were discussed above in the section 'News Topics'.

The Council of Churches appeal to the government and the public to consider inhumanity inflicted on jockeys.

Anti-German feeling is expressed in a sermon preached by the Dean at St Paul's, London, about 'Germany's barbaric slide', and 'fear that Europe may relapse into a state akin to the Dark Ages' (*The Star* 4/5: 2). An example given of the 'Danger of Anarchy' is Germany. To combat this, the Christian church has a duty to 'create an atmosphere to cultivate reform', thus making the 'perpetuation of evil impossible' (*The Star* 12/6: 9).

Personification

Two aspects of the news value 'Personification', outlined by Galtung and Ruge (1973: 66-7) apply to the well-known General Bramwell Booth, and his youngest son, Herbert, who visits Australia and New Zealand. Newspapers announce his intention to visit Australasia. They report his visits to various parts of Australia and the expected date of his arrival in New Zealand. When he arrives in Christchurch he speaks to crowds of 1,100 at marquee meetings (*The Star* 15/3: 6). Reports of his successful tour, including his farewell, make regular news. This aspect illustrates personification as an outcome of the frequency factor, where 'persons can act during a time-span that fits the frequency of the news media' (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 67).

Herbert Booth is described as a forceful speaker (*The Star* 15/3: 6) and favourable comparisons are made between him and his father (*The Star* 10/6: 6). Herbert's physical features are described as is his manner of speaking, both publicly and at the press conference (*The Star* 10/6: 8). He speaks at civic receptions (*The Star* 14/5: 5) as well as religious meetings. His speaking venues are often crowded out. This is an example of another aspect of personification, seen 'as a direct consequence of the elite-concentration but as distinct from it' (ibid).

Herbert Booth's comment is asked for on prohibition (*The Star* 10/5: 4) and communism (*Lyttelton Times* 4/8: 7). There is also interest in his views on education (*The Star* 11/6: 6). Booth is reported to have said that 'he would prefer to see Australia dry' and, the Australian Labour party consists 'men of good religious and moral character, despite the Bolshevik cackle'. Also, the fears and prejudices of some concerning the Labour party and communists are evident because Booth's opinion regarding them seems to be important. This illustrates another aspect of personification namely 'the need for meaning and ... identification' (ibid).

Scandal

All three newspapers included articles on the Catholic church and its moral standards. The Pope excommunicates 200 Czechoslovakian priests who defied the Vatican's interdiction against marriage (*The Star* 8/3: 3). In local news, a priest refuses to marry a bride who he thinks is too scantily clothed. The Archbishop condemns "farmyard morals of motherhood shirkers" (*The Star* 21/6: 7).

News Values in 1960

Conflict

The 'conflict' news value occurs mostly in foreign news. In South Africa, bishops criticise the colour bar. A bishop who speaks out about the Sharpville riots has to flee for his life (*The Press* 6/4: 17). The Anglican church may try to have the Dutch Reform Church (DRC) expelled from NCC because it supports apartheid (*The Press* 12/4: 17; *The Star* 11/4: 1).

The Presbyterians and Methodists reject the Anglican's boycott of the DRC. South African clergy appeal to the government to end violence (*The Press* 17/4: 17). Asian churches and the NCC resolve to invite the DRC to see the injustices, oppression and violence of apartheid. They offer condolences to the Africans, Blacks and whites pray together in each others' churches in Capetown. The Bishop of Australia and the Archbishop of Sydney preach that the church must oppose the apartheid policy (*The Press* 12/4: 19).

In Australia, three Catholic bishops deny the report that Catholics had been ordered to withdraw from All Black trials (*The Press* 17/3: 8). An Anglican clergyman wants Africans to know that the Anglican church opposes racism because, according to *The Star* (16/4: 3), it wants converts. This story seems to reflect a questioning of the Anglican church's credibility.

Bishops express concern about communism in Cuba in a letter (*The Press* 1/4: 11). In Britain, the Anglican 'Red Dean' explains in a television interview that communism and Christianity have similar aims. 'People opposing such ideas do not like them supported by church dignitaries' (*The Press* 8/6: 15). These reports reflect discussion in chapter one about the state turning to the church because of the fear of communism.

Jehovah's Witnesses are in conflict with the law when refusing their family members blood transfusions, resulting in their deaths. In one case, a blood transfusion was given to a baby who was two days old, against the wishes of her Jehovah's Witness parents. The judge of the Juvenile Court said at an emergency hearing at the mother's bedside that although the courts recognise religious freedom, religious beliefs are not allowed to imperil a child's life (*The Star* 27/5: 4).

In local church news much of the conflict is between Catholics, Methodists, Anglicans and Presbyterians over denominational differences. Sunday activities are also an issue, for example, Sunday sports moving out into the country threaten church affairs, for instance, those attending the Christchurch Presbytery (*The Star* 11/8: 2).

There is conflict between the Education Commission and those fighting for religion to be taught in schools. It is reported that Christian doctrines are no longer believed by the adult population. Volountary religion teachers are often ill-informed zealots and poor teachers. Giving instruction implies that those with other beliefs are wrong. It must be acknowledge that many of high character cannot accept the religious faith' (*The Star* 30/6: 8). Much of this debate has been noted above under 'news topics'.

Disorder

The Star (4/5: 3) reports that a Catholic church in Auckland has burnt down.

Order

The Press (20/4: 15) reports that the Archbishop of Johannesburg addresses 2,700 people in a plea to end apartheid. In an Easter sermon, before 2,000 Europeans, Asians and Africans, the Archbishop of Capetown 'calls for moral action to 'reject any system which breeds hatred, distrust and ill will (*The Press* 19/4: 12). An archbishop may seek the expulsion of the Dutch Reform church from the World Council of Churches because of its stance on apartheid (*The Star* 11/4: 1). The bishop of Johannesburg has fled South Africa because he anticipated arrest, as many who visited his home have been taken into custody. He is concerned about how he can serve South Africa and wants to return (*The Star* 23/4: 3).

At a meeting in Hong Kong, the General Secretary of the New Zealand National Council of churches, Rev. Brash and the Inter-church-Aid are deeply disturbed over apartheid in South Africa. They invite the Dutch Reform Church to see the implications of apartheid and offer sympathy to the South Africans (*The Star* 29/4: 10). Billy Graham also speaks out against apartheid (*The Star* 16/4: 12). He refuses to conduct a Crusade in South Africa until multi-racial meetings can be held (*The Star* 30/3: 1).

A Jewish Rabbi visiting New Zealand to dedicate the Dominion's first liberal synagogue, speaks about apartheid. He says that all churches, including his synagogue, failed to preach and practice brotherhood. This contributed to the spread of apartheid (*The Star* 16/8: 17).

The Star (6/6: 10) reflects the news value of moral order in an article addressing racism. At a reunion commemoration service at Auckland's St Mary's Cathedral, the Rev. Elliot appears without his VC because he feels strongly about Maori being excluded from the South African rugby tour.

In New Zealand, Presbyterians endorse the showing of films on Sundays. According to the NCC, Sunday films help to keep young people off the streets. But in Christchurch, there are no such problems with young people. Presbyterians warn churches not to close their doors to youth programmes (*The Star* 14/4: 5).

Prominence

Reports about Billy Graham are examples of the news value of prominence in the 1960 data set. He is well known to New Zealanders as a celebrity. His crusades in Africa draw people from several faiths. Many, such as witch doctors, had been opposing his Crusades, but they were amongst the converts (*The Star* 12/3: 12). The Emperor orders a public holiday so that everyone, including himself and his dignitaries, can attend Graham's Crusades. Graham receives hospitality from South Africa's dignitaries (*The Star* 17/3: 11). Graham's subsequent visit to the Holy Land, intended to be a personal pilgrimage, results in large crowds flocking to hear him. The Israeli Prime Minister, who initially forbade Graham to speak publicly because Jews have been persecuted by

Christians, gives Graham permission to speak publicly (*The Star* 24/3: 12). The success of Graham's crusades in South Africa and Israel with detailed reports of his messages and his popularity with a mix of faiths and people from all walks of life, indicates both media and public interest in non-traditional churches. There are no reports of denominational conflict. Films of the Graham Crusades are shown in New Zealand (*The Press* 5/3: 4). The closest to any conflict occurs afterwards when the Methodists ask how lasting are the results of his crusades, because their church numbers had not really increased as a result (*The Star* 12/4: 21).

Human Interest

According to *The Press*, a blind evangelist, whose denomination is unknown, tells of how he lost his sight during the war. He learnt stenography and is leading a full life (22/6: 11). This story is one of overcoming a serious handicap. It also shows interest in and the increasing credibility of non-traditional faiths.

Novelty

These stories indicate the interest in non-traditional churches. In Liverpool, evangelists tossed 60,000 bottles, each containing a scripture verse, into the sea over a period of 12 years. One in ten of these bottles draw replies (*The Star* 5/5: 2). There is also an indication of falling interest in traditional religion, such as, the Lord's Prayer. The Archbishop of Halifax, asked a group of children what the meaning of the word 'trespass' is. One boy said, 'I don't know, but I know that it costs 40 bob' (*The Star* 16/6: 2).

Unexpected

A Salvation Army social worker says that unmarried mums should be able to keep their babies (*The Star* 15/3: 6). This reflects the Salvation Army advocating humanity and acceptance of the society we live in. It also shows interest and regard for non-traditional faiths.

Deviance

The deviance news value reflected in the 1960 data set involves the apparent priority given by Jehovah's Witnesses to their doctrine over the lives of their family members. When a mother of five children dies because she refused a blood transfusion, *The Star* writes that her husband says that she is a shining example of a person enacting her faith (*The Star* 7/7: 16). Another incident is of an Australian believer who refuses his child a blood transfusion, resulting in the child's death. The court charges him with manslaughter. However, he appeals the charge and receives much support from Witnesses, even from New Zealand, that he is not guilty, but obedient to his faith.

The Star (15/8: 1) reports that the prayers of a New Zealand Christian Scientist couple and their church fail to save their daughter.

Irish unrest continues to be reported in *The Press* and *The Star*. For example, *The Star* (14/4: 10) reports that religious bias in the Orange Lodge is strongly denied. Although it is actively Protestant, it says it is not anti-Catholic.

News Values in 2000

Conflict

Conflict occurs in stories about beneficiaries and social welfare agencies protesting about the government being slow to meet the needs of beneficiaries. Comment is often sought from the Christchurch City Missioner, David Morrell, on such issues. An example is the work-for-dole scheme taking one year to be axed (*The Press* 18/7: 2).

Controversial evangelist, Brian Tamaki, says that the news media have blown his preaching out of context, misquoting him (*The Press* 8/3).

Regarding the Matrimonial Property Act, the Opposition Leader, Jenny Shipley sends letters to Christian organisations, urging them to target MPs who could vote against giving gay couples the same property rights as married people. However, Presbyterian and Catholic churches support the extension of property rights to de facto and same sex couples. MP Tim Barnett says Shipley 'was treating gay, lesbian, and heterosexual de facto couples as second-class citizens' (*The Press* 2/5: 3; 3/5: 6).

A article in *The Press* (11/5: 1) reported that an extreme conservative and hard-line Catholic group want five New Zealand bishops sacked because they support the registration of same-sex partnerships under the Matrimonial Property Amendment Bill.

In news from America, there is a photo of a wedding ceremony of a lesbian couple. The article includes much discussion about conventional marriage (*The Press* 11/3: w/e).

The availability of condoms in New Zealand schools is being opposed by the Christian Heritage Party and the Catholic Education Office. The are concerned that young people would think that 'sexual interaction is recreational' (*The Press* 12/7: 7).

In foreign news, a 12 year old girl, who was given financial aid by the Catholic church to prevent her having an abortion, has been told by the court to have her baby adopted out (*The Press* 9/6: 11 (B1).

The Council of Churches urges Australian churchgoers to boycott McDonalds because of an advertisement showing a seance in process, promoting the BigMac in a message from the dead, until the advertisement is withdrawn (*The Press* 6/5:15). These stories indicate the rise of pluralism and the battle some churches are waging in order to control it.

According to *The Press* (28/3), church groups in America are in conflict over the Pope's use of the word 'Christian' instead of 'Catholic'. Critics say the Pope is presumptuous in doing this, overstepping his authority when making appeals for peace and reconciliation. Billy Graham thinks not, that the Pope speaks for all Christians when he expresses urgent need for peace in Israel.

Order

The Press (5/4: 3) reported that the Catholic church, in upholding its high respect for life, may give cash to pregnant women in order to prevent abortions.

In Fiji, the wife of the deposed Prime Minister Chaudry, who is a devoted Catholic, says she has forgiven George Speight and his men for the coup (*The Press* 19/6: 12).

A son dies because he was refused medical treatment by his deeply religious parents who belong to an unspecified denomination. Their church's prayer meetings for his healing had failed (*The Press* 15/8: 3).

The Pope celebrates Mass with 30,000 Jordanians, urging unity amongst Catholics in the Middle East (*The Press* 22/3: 17).

Predictability / Consonance

Graham Capill, leader of the Christian Heritage political party, rejects a proposed euthanasia clinic plan (*The Press* 16/6: 9).

Human Interest

Many beneficiaries are not told of their full entitlement of welfare payments. Christchurch City Missioner and the Methodist City Missioner are asked for their comment on the discussion regarding this (*The Press* 1/8: 2).
Many needy families are able to seek help from the Christchurch East Churches Training Assistance Board, which consists of six local churches (*The Press* 8/8: 22).
Men who are anxious to improve relationships with their families are able to find advice at a men's conference, run by an international non-profit making Christian organisation, the Promise Keepers (*The Press* 28/8: 4).

Unexpected

According to *The Press* (17/4: 9), the Auckland Catholic bishop 'has given qualified support for contraception outside marriage.

A faithful Salvation Army band player from Gisborne has been arrested in Peru for allegedly smuggling drugs (*The Press* 22/6: 9; 23/6:7).

Conclusion

The analysis of the data sets indicate patterns of declining media interest in the church. These are pictured in the graphs in Appendix B.

Churches and Religions

The amount of newspaper reportage on church and religion has fallen significantly from 1880 to 2000. The media's declining interest in church and religion in preference to other topics reflects the general societal trends due to secularisation and the changing interests of readers.

News Topics

Church news declined from being the major news topic it was seen to be in 1880. Newspaper articles which addressed spiritual and religious matters had disappeared in 2000 in favour of human interest stories. Media interest in social services in 1920 and 1960 reflected Protestant churches continuing to pursue issues important to the Prohibition campaign. However, in 2000, the newspapers reported less about the type of social work the churches engaged in. Instead, the focus was more on comments of prominent church leaders who were actively involved in social issues, such as the City Missioner.

In formal education, the 1960 newspapers focus on the strong debates concerning religious instruction in schools. The newspapers also show interest in the acknowledgment of pluralism by some church schools.

News Values

Instead of church stories being 'distorted', they are shaped by news values. There are seven major 'news values' reflected in newspaper reports on religions during the period from 1880 to 2000.

1. Conflict. The first of these to be noted, is conflict, which is the dominant news value reflected in all the data sets. In 1880, conflict was the theme of several issues reported in the newspapers. These included Bible reading in schools, Sunday trading, the Pope's declaration about civic marriages and the beginnings of Irish unrest. In 1920, newspapers report conflict as the outcome of issues regarding the involvement of church dignitaries in the unrest in Ireland and its associated fears, such as anarchy and communism. In domestic news, conflict is reported as the outcome of sectarian differences. The conflict stories in 1960 are mainly concerned with church dignitaries fighting apartheid in South Africa. Conflict is also the dominant news value in the contentious debates about religion in schools.

In 2000, newspapers emphasise conflict in reporting on differences between church groups about moral issues. The proposed changes to the Matrimonial Property Act result in conflicts reported between fundamentalist church groups and liberal groups about the sanctity of marriage and de-facto and same-sex

relationships. Until 1960, many of these stories would have been shaped by the news values 'order' and 'disorder'.

2. Moral and Social Order. The media show particular interest in church involvement in issues of moral and social order in 1920 and 1960. The 1920 newspapers report the Methodists supporting Labour concerns in addressing unjust employment conditions. The need to reform prisoners is also voiced.

There is no further media interest shown in the church's efforts to enforce moral standards until the year 2000. Newspapers report the Catholic church trying to encourage moral order in preventing abortions.

3. Moral and Social Disorder. In 1880, the news value 'disorder' was reflected in newspaper reports about the Mormons in their alleged practice of polygamy.

In 1920, 'disorder' was reflected in reports concerning a new pattern of the Catholic church involvement in the fear of anarchy and the strong anti-German sentiment. According to newspapers, this fear had abated in 1960. However, in the 1960 newspapers another trend emerged, that of church involvement in apartheid. Much of this reportage occurs in the foreign news section. Newspapers also report that apartheid is practiced in New Zealand. The Catholic church is reported to be ambiguous regarding its position in supporting the All Black rugby team in its proposed tour to South Africa. Church groups also voice their concern about Maori being excluded from the All Black team.

As noted above, by the year 2000, many stories which had been shaped by the news values 'order' and 'disorder' are now shaped by 'conflict'.

4. Deviance. Patterns of newspaper interest in deviance in religious groups are reflected in reports in 1880 and 1960. In 1880, the actions of the Mormons, their baptisms, bad preaching and converts being sent in 'batches' to Utah are reported with a deviant slant. There is no further media interest in Mormons as a 'deviant' group.

In 1960, newspaper interest in deviance is reflected in newspaper reports about Jehovah's Witnesses refusing their babies and wives blood transfusions, resulting in their deaths. In 2000, the Jehovah's Witnesses are no longer of media interest as a 'deviant' group.

5. Personification. In 1920, the news value personification is illustrated in how the newspapers reported interest in the beginning of the Salvation Army in New Zealand. Commander Herbert Booth given celebrity his status, represents the Salvation Army when is asked for his viewpoints about current concerns, prohibition, communism and the Labour Party.

6. Prominence. In 1960, the newspapers' interest in Billy Graham is reflected in the large and numerous reports about what Graham says and does during his successful crusades in South Africa and his visit to Israel.

7. Human Interest. A new trend in the media is the increasing focus on the news value human interest. This is reflected in newspaper reports in 2000 about church groups providing help for needy families with living costs and relationship difficulties.

Chapter Four
Religion as News:
What the Church and the Media Say

Introduction

This chapter is divided in two sections. The first discusses the interviews undertaken with editors and religion reporters of *The Press* and *The Star* about their viewpoints on the findings of the data sets. The three questions journalists were asked were, firstly, why they think the Anglican church received more media attention during the period from 1880 to 1960. Secondly, after 1960, why had the amount of religion reported declined markedly and the Anglican church no longer had the most coverage. Thirdly, from 1920 to 1960, why was there media interest shown in the activity of Methodists and Presbyterians in social and political concerns, and no interest in Anglican or Catholic churches?

The second section discusses church representatives' views about newspaper coverage of religion and the church. It also considers journalists' responses to church leaders' claims they receive negative press. In doing so, this chapter explores the issue of whether newspapers are 'leaders of public opinion' about religion, or whether newspapers merely reflect the opinions of their readers. Finally, this chapter considers the reasons behind the communication difficulties between the church and the media. It concludes with a discussion of how the church could improve its coverage through the use of media officers.

4.1 What the Media Say

Church Reportage: 1880 -1960

The data sets show that the Anglican church is reported far more than other denominations during 1880 and 1960. In 1920, the Anglican church received about as much coverage as the Catholic church because of much foreign news which involved Catholic activity. In the year 2000, church coverage was very low with more media interest shown in the Catholic church and in non-traditional denominations.

According to Michael Vance, associate editor of *The Press* (personal communication, 2 August, 2004), the Anglican church in Canterbury has the largest number of adherents. Both Vance and Bob Cotton, former editor of *The Star* (personal communication, 23 July, 2004), say this was influenced by Canterbury being an Anglican settlement with very visible representation, for example, the Cathedral in the square. *The Press* has never been denominational, says Vance, but its reportage shows the majority of interest and opinion of its readers. According to Bruce Rennie (personal communication, 29 July, 2004), the amount of church news reported can vary, to some extent, according to the personal interest of the reporter, or the relationships that reporter has with clergy. The Catholic church has been reticent in approaching the media, claims David Gee (personal communication, 26 July, 2004), but also, the church is often unable to provide the media with news which is interesting. According to Binney Lock, a former editor of *The Press* (personal communication, 27 July, 2004), church news reported in the

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media is dependant on "the activity and inventiveness" of the church. Much news is generated by people outside the newspapers, people who have drive, who can make interesting and challenging statements, who can command attention and are prepared to write articles occasionally. But such personalities have become uncommon. Lock mentions John Elvidge, director of Presbyterian Support, as someone who is 'well informed, prepared to speak on many platforms and is good at it'.

Church Reportage after 1960

According to Cotton, public and media interest in the church declined as the Cathedral disappeared from view amongst other buildings. The style of journalism also changed with the advent of television and the improvement of radio, say Cotton and Gee. The high increase in the number of news bulletins on television and radio, twenty four hours a day, make it harder for newspapers. Prior to this, says Gee, 'newspapers had it all'.

The change in journalism is reflected in the data sets, which show that the church was newsworthy, particularly in 1880, but continued to decline in 1920 and 1960. In the year 2000, church news was insignificant to the media. According to Cotton, this change in journalism began in the late 1960s when it became more personalised, action and conflict-oriented and aggressive. This change is a reason for the decline in church news, which involved sermons, details of services and church meetings. According to Vance, this indicates the decline of the church in the life of the nation which began following the Second World War.

In their survey, Lichter and Amundson (2000: unpaginated) say that most news about the church is uncontroversial and consists of "non-judgemental recounting of routine events". Cotton says that until the late 1960s, 'we were basically reporters, we reflected what went on in the community'. David Gee says, "we were glorified clerks". According to Cotton, by the late 1960s, newspapers 'became no longer interested in talking heads or sermons. Cotton says that actual events have become increasingly important, particularly conflict. These comments confirm the findings from the 1993 American survey, that it may be difficult to find something newsworthy for churches with unchanging practices unless some of their long-standing traditions are challenged or changed (1993:24).

Reporting of Methodists and Presbyterians 1920-1960

From 1920 until 1960, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were reported in the newspapers to be more active in social and political concerns than the Anglican church. Vance suggests that, generally, churches are "intimately involved in social questions". The Anglican church, however, was not so involved because it was 'Establishment' and 'conservatively self-satisfied', he says. From as early as the Reformation, the Protestants were the dissidents, the ones very involved in social affairs. According to Lock, the Methodists and Presbyterians have always had a "strong social conscience" and engaged in relevant activities. Occasionally, their concerns and fund raising would be conspicuous. Lock suggests that the Catholics and Anglicans were not as noticeable because their activities were more formal and contained within their institutions. Another possibility was that they had less of a need to attract public attention because of their larger congregations.

4.2 Media and Church Discussion

The Gap between the Church and the Media

John Bluck, former Dean of Christchurch Cathedral (personal communication, 22 June, 2001), claims that communication between the church and the media began to deteriorate during the early twentieth century. Prior to this, the colonial church was central to the community, hence it was well understood and did not need to explain itself. Everyone was involved in the church in some way. In the following two to three generations, according to Bluck, it was believed that knowledge, understanding and involvement in the church would "renew itself in the generational process". But this communication theory "began to unravel well before the second world war". 'The unspoken church-media contract which had lasted for so long had began to "fray at the edges". The church, however, continues to think it is still self-explanatory, central and understood in the community, he says.

However, the church has become largely irrelevant. According to Salvation Army Commander, Campbell Roberts, the church has not engaged with important issues, neither has it formed any philosophy with key developments. He says that religion is of interest in its 'underplay in the generation of ideas, religious or otherwise'. But too often, the church ignores this and spends too much time on trivia.

Lance Shilton, Anglican Dean of Sydney, (1988:34) argues that no issue of public importance should be ignored by the church. It must enter into the 'cut and thrust of debate', because the community needs guidelines. "Too little is said by too few in the church too late". This lament is echoed by John Elvidge, director of Presbyterian Support, who adds that the church is finding it increasingly difficult to make social comment because of the church's plurality. The church seldom now initiates debate on social issues. He and Geering agree that the church keeps turning back to the old, traditional answers which, says Geering, "began to pass away about 300 years ago". According to John Elvidge, "the church lacks creative thinkers" and no longer has "people who impress the media enough".

According to Kenneth Briggs, ordained Methodist elder and former religion editor of the New York Times (cited in Dart and Allen 1993: 33), the media are confused about the place of religion in our secular society. "Religion no longer provides the paradigms for the meaning of life", therefore religion is no longer important (1993:34). Briggs says that 'the media cannot see religion belonging in a world where religious metaphors have been displaced at the centre of public life. This has not been caused by "conspirational forces", as many churches say, but through the momentum of secular mentality' (ibid).

Lloyd Geering (personal communication, 21 October, 2002), says that in our increasingly secular society, most forms of religion are seen to be outdated, an irrelevant residue from the past. According to Liz Grant, former media officer of the Anglican church in Christchurch, because the church is no longer the foundation of social life, the media treat church activity as private.

Bluck and the evangelical churches agree that 'church' and 'religion' are almost forbidden topics in the news media. Bluck has a reason for this. In Canterbury, there have been a high number of journalists who range from being neutral to critical about the church. Over the last 150 years there has been a high number of agnostics, skeptics and people disillusioned with religion amongst editors and opinion writers. Bluck says this has been a major contributor to the breakdown between religion and the media. Although this is not peculiar to New Zealand, it has "a special urge and cutting edge because New Zealand is so secular". Julanne Clarke-Morris (current media officer for the Anglican church, New Zealand), agrees that the media contribute to a shift away from religion because they portray it in such a negative light:

> There is a common acceptance in this country that the media parody of religion as fuddy-duddy or fascist equals the truth. To be religious is to be a socially persecuted minority. The role of the media in perpetrating the myths about the irrelevance or aggressiveness of religion is only part of a bigger cultural shift against any form of religious practice.

However, Roberts argues that the media reflect New Zealand's secularity. He gives an example of the education system. New Zealand has a mixed spirituality and has not explored 'the meaning issues'. Instead, pupils are supplied with technical skills, "as if the secular state is the norm. Values are not taught, but technical skills are. The news media reflect this".

According to Silk (1995:36), American surveys show that the religious views of journalists reflect those of the general population. This is contrary to the view that reporters have a far more secular outlook than the general population. When I asked church people, editors and reporters if they think that journalists' values of religion are similar to those of the public, they all agreed that they are. Editors associated with *The Star* and *The Press* say they regard journalists as part of the community which they try to reflect.

According to Roberts, journalists are sometimes cynical due to the nature of their work. But another reason for cynicism, he adds, is that journalists have to "make sure they are not being taken for a ride. [Cynicism] is part of a journalist's make-up which I expect to be there". John Bluck agrees, saying that "a journalist has a critical mind". But, he says, there is increasing cynicism towards religion from the editorial gatekeepers. Julanne Clarke-Morris finds the cynicism of some journalists disturbing "because it does not line up with reality". However, other church people I interviewed said that journalists' attitudes to religion are varied.

"Journalists work in a culture which is not interested in picking up church stories", says Grant. She says that it is up to the church to cultivate good relations with the media. The church tends to be arrogant in thinking its good works should be published.

According to Binney Lock, the distance between the church and the media is a reason many journalists know little about church matters. According to Lock, this can result in not all stories being reported fairly and

accurately. Lock's view concurs with John Dart (a journalist), and Jimmy Allen (Baptist minister and communicator), who discussed the results of a survey in article, *Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media.* The survey discussed the breakdown of communication between the news media and the church. According to the survey, journalists often do not report religion accurately because they are not well informed (1993: 38,40).

Most church people I interviewed said that, generally, the media report their articles fairly and accurately, particularly if the issues are simple and familiar to the wider community. Other church people I spoke to said that the accuracy of reporting can depend on the ability of the journalist who may unwittingly introduce subtle differences to the information supplied. According to Roberts, journalists' lack of knowledge about complex issues, such as housing, can be difficult. He says that journalists do not ask the right questions, neither do 'they write articles which address the issues'.

The 1993 survey revealed that much of the criticism and ill feeling clergy have towards the general media in America stems from misunderstandings which often result in church news not being reported accurately. This is often due to journalists not being well informed (1993: 38,40). All the church people I interviewed found that journalists have very little or no knowledge about the church or religion. The editors and religion reporters I interviewed agreed.

According to Binney Lock, inaccurate reporting by journalists is a reason people are timid about approaching newspapers. He claims that "journalists often get things wrong". Very few journalists know much about the church and do not inform themselves about it. According to Dart and Allen (1993: 5), this results in "an unhealthy distrust existing between religionists and journalists, even a fear of each other".

According to Asher, national editor for Catholic News Service based in Washington (cited in Dart & Allen, 1993: 28), journalists' lack of knowledge about the church can cause some of them to be prejudiced against it. Journalists who are prejudiced against the church tend to polarise issues and choose 'fanatics' as their sources. Clarke-Morris concurs that journalists' lack of knowledge is probably a reason they prefer a 'quick shock-value story'. She says that journalists tend to "buy into unexamined popular assumptions and stereotypes as a way to make good copy".

The church people I interviewed are in general agreement that they are sometimes stereotyped by the media. According to Dart and Allen (1993: 13), a reason for this lies in the secularisation of society. This involves the desire for autonomy and rational thought, resulting in "throwing off religious restraints". In the newsroom, such attitudes result in journalists "fixing clergy and church people into stereotypes" (Dart and Allen 1993:13).

However, religion reporters and editors I interviewed said they were not aware of church people being stereotyped. David Gee said he tried writing religious stories which 'broke stereotypes'. Some journalists, says Lock,

"characterise occupations and groups of people, but they are usually wrong". He says that he has found church people to be of a 'huge variety'. Furthermore, he says, "newspapers are on the look-out for exceptions".

Religious aspects being omitted from news articles further indicate the separation of the church and the media. According to Dart and Allen (1993: 9), religious bodies criticise the media for omitting 'spiritual dimensions' during both crisis situations and calmer times. Church people I spoke to agree with this view. Interviews with editors and reporters suggest that a reason religion is omitted is that it is considered to be not as important or as useful as other topics. This is acknowledged by David Bennett (personal communication, 24 June, 2004), who says that space is required for other sources. He says that in keeping with their story angle, it is not always easy for the media to include background information which reflects the wider church community.

Michael Vance claims that the church's decline in standing and importance in the community is reflected in news coverage. This perhaps explains why religious aspects of situations are often omitted from news stories. Similarly, Bob Cotton believes that the church's loss of prominence is a reason the religious dimension is often omitted in news stories. Vance states that it is no longer important to seek out sermons from the Dean or leading Presbyterian ministers for important occasions.

According to David Bennett, it is not surprising that in-depth coverage is minimal. New Zealand has a relatively small population, resulting in there being relatively fewer journalists who cover religion. Those who do so, do it in conjunction with other rounds. According to Binney Lock and Bruce Rennie, superficiality is part of the nature of journalism. Bob Cotton says that the increase in superficial reporting can be attributed to the advent of television and the increase in the number of radio stations which do not demand much concentration from their viewers and listeners. He says that people's attention span has become quite short. 'They have become more oriented to listening and watching, rather than reading every story on every page of the newspaper. People need a lot more titivating to read the newspaper', according to Cotton, "they need to be made to read it".

According to Lance Shilton, it is difficult for the church to convey deep theological concepts to the media. The church must present its concepts "in the usual, superficial context of most media representation" (1988: 33).

The church often criticises the media for superficial reporting (Seigenthaler cited in Dart and Allen 1993: 3). The church people I interviewed agree. A reason they give is that New Zealand is very secular and does not take religion seriously.

Lyndsay Freer, media officer for the Catholic church (personal communication, 10 June, 2004), suggests that a reason for superficial reporting may be that New Zealand is still developing its literary tradition. She also suggests that "there is no commitment to reporting, despite New Zealand having some excellent journalists". A Canadian journalist and Communications Officer for the Methodist Mission, Mike O'Dwyer, says that "journalists are not well versed in what they are writing about", so they do a 'cliched analysis' on, for example,

poverty, based on food bank results. But food banks, he says, belong to an antiquated view of missions because they are not run like that any more. Food banks are now only the 'band-aid', not the focus, which is to break the cycle of people returning for more food. The media are very reticent about dealing with the focus of missions, says O'Dwyer, who has been in New Zealand four years.

Journalists I spoke to claim that the amount of religious coverage in the newspaper often depends on the personal interest of the journalist. Gee claims that if reporters are personally interested in religion, it has a better chance of being reported. According to Liz Grant (journalist) (personal communication, 15 July, 2004), the newsroom culture has little interest in church stories. She says the church must realise this in order to understand the difficulties journalists have in getting church stories published. Grant and John Elvidge (personal communication 11 May 2001), say that journalists may well have personal interest in religious and church issues. However, what is of personal interest usually lacks newsworthiness.

Dart and Allen (1993: 13) argue that journalists report on religious events if they embody news values. Elvidge and Morrell agree that journalists are often personally interested in religious issues and church social agencies. However, their personal interest is often irrelevant if the issues lack 'news values'.

Lock concurs with Morrell and Roberts that churches often provide the media with items which lack news values. The Dart and Allen survey (1993: 6) stresses the importance of church leaders learning what is considered to be newsworthy.

Journalists thus have a different agenda to that of the church. Aspects which journalists find newsworthy are considered irrelevant by church people. This often results in comments being printed which, say church people, are taken out of context. According to Peter Minson, sub-editors who have not spoken with the source, can give an article very misleading headlines. He says, "Part of the art of a journalist is to create conflict, to tease out conflict which may or may not exist in an issue. A journalist can allege that you clash with someone, without even having spoken to you". Liz Grant claims that if an issue is controversial, the media will not be so careful about reflecting the church's point of view, but rather, would treat the issue as a conflict.

Many church people I spoke to interpret this as the media not being interested unless something unusual or controversial occurs or they can get a reaction. An example of a 'reaction' is the sudden news coverage about terrorist attacks in America, allegedly by Muslims. Ola Kamel claims that journalists' interest in Islam was limited for only the few months following the September 11 attacks. Journalists showed no interest beyond that event, nor beyond their narrow range of questions.

David Gee maintains that in accordance with the change in journalism, a reason the church lacks newsworthiness is that it shies away from conflict. His view concurs with Dart and Allen (1993: 15-6). Gee sees that although church meetings are sources of information, the search for conflict became more dominant.

However, according to Binney Lock, newspapers avoid sectarian conflict because it is "irresolvable" and "it is pointless". He claims, "People enjoy conflict, but there are news topics which are of more interest in which to portray conflict". He says that it was generally understood that the pulpit was the place for sectarian differences. Sermons are not usually seen to be newsworthy. However, some journalists found sectarian conflict interesting, for example, the Lloyd Geering case.

I mentioned to Lock that some people, for example, Michael Grimshaw, say that the Geering controversy was a 'media beat-up'. Locke said it was not a 'media beat-up', but rather, church people were being passionate about the issue and took it very seriously.

Generally, according to Lock, newspapers avoid sectarian controversy because they are not the place for sectarian argument.

> Newspapers have better, more interesting things to do. If the newspapers opened their columns to sectarian discussion or controversy, they would also have to open up 'letters to the editor'. You would then have inflamed letters pouring in which would be of huge importance to those engaged in the battle but, interesting to most people.

Lock emphasises that this view is does not diminish the importance of the church or religion in any way because a high proportion of readers are church goers. Nonetheless, newspapers are not given to philosophical or religious debate, unless it is of huge public interest.

According to Morrell, the City Mission is of interest to the media because it is a source of information. He says that *The Press* ring him more often than he sends out press releases, about 'social issues of the day' and 'what the mission is doing'.

According to Silk (1995:75), the news media are interested in aspects of religion which are already in the public eye. John Bluck believes that the Cathedral is 'well set' for creating news events which are 'interpretative or thematic'. "We build events around anything with a public profile, for example, Princess Diana's funeral or the Dalai Lama's visit". Bluck maintains that "it is a matter of managing the news we have into news that will be of interest to the media". According to Barry Corbett, the City Mission attracts media attention with its fund raising. An example is 'Jail House Rock', an open day in party-style which the Mission organised at Addington prison when it closed. The Mission also publicly thanks organisations for their donations. An example is a photograph in *The Star* of the manager of Blackwell Motors handing the keys of a new car given to the City Missioner.

Cotton states that as Christchurch expanded, the Anglican church lost its prominence as the Cathedral disappeared amongst taller buildings. It has become physically invisible. He says that the Presbyterian church, too, is losing its prominence due to the sale of its old people's homes. Thus, media interest has declined.

David Morrell says that John Bluck contributed to raising the Anglican church's media profile by being noticed in various ways. One instance was Bluck fighting *The Press* to have the Visitor's Centre built, as *The Press* and the Cathedral co-own the Square. This battle was resolved and the Queen opened the Visitors Centre, thus, "Bluck made his mark".

Another aspect of religion that is newsworthy is when the church engages in social work. According to Mark Silk (1995: 59), "socially active religion engages the moral attention of the media in a way that ordinary religion cannot". Churches engaged in active community work achieve media attention because they create the impression that they are dealing with the needs of the community (ibid). This is true for the Christchurch City Mission, Presbyterian Support, the Methodist Mission and the Salvation Army. However, this is not so for the Baptist and evangelical churches which engage in social work in the community.

According to Mike Sullivan (1993:37), editor of *The Daily Citizen*, the media ignore the positive social contributions of evangelical Christianity and instead, sensationalize the less positive aspects. This is the more recent experience of a Baptist church leader who I interviewed. He has been active in youth work for 20 years and says that he no longer invites the media to the church-run camps for 'needy kids'. He says that the media no longer write what he wants them to write. The media are not interested in the positive results of the church's work. Instead, the media seek out the negative aspects which they tend to sensationalise.

Liz Grant and Michael Vance agree that newspapers are not good at counter-balancing negative stories. This has resulted in the church and Christianity having such a negative profile. Grant says, "The media will tap into the lowest common denominator if it can, the trash and the negativity. This is an indication of human nature." She says that this is a reason the church needs to work very hard to manage the media indifference towards it.

However, according to Dart and Allen (1993: 4), negative reporting is a result of journalists lacking knowledge and understanding about church matters.

Misunderstandings resulting in inaccurate reporting can arise because the agenda of journalists is different from that of the church. This puts more responsibility on church leaders to clearly explain the content and complexity of their stories. If errors are made in the story, it is the responsibility of the church to ask journalists for clarification or retraction (Dart and Allen 1993: 6). But clergy I spoke to have not always found this possible.

The church has equal responsibility to communicate clearly with the media (Dart and Allen 1993: 28). Bishop Francis Quinn of Sacramento, who served on the American Bishops Communications Committee, has no

complaints about media reportage on religion. He understands that the news media are under constraints of time and space and, therefore, may not report things the way a priest does (1993: 28). According to Maurice Goodall, former City Missioner and Bishop, a reason journalists present information differently from how a church leader intended is that it is easy for the church leader to make the wrong assumption that the journalist knows what he is talking about. It is, therefore, important to be clear when dealing with journalists and to 'develop a good rapport with them'. Goodall says that when mutual trust develops between church leaders and journalists, their knowledge and understanding about church issues improves over a period of time.

Morrell claims that a mutual respect developed between Bluck and *The Press*, in part due to Bluck having been head of communications for the World Council of Churches and having a good knowledge and understanding of the media. According to Morrell, Bluck became "a person who the media tracked for statements because they knew they would get something relevant and pertinent from a voice that understands the media".

Grant states that, generally, the church is not forthcoming with its message. The church seems to think the media should represent it. However, the church must realize it needs to overcome the media's indifference towards it. Yet Bluck thinks there is an increasing cynicism towards religion from the editorial gatekeepers in New Zealand. It is not that "we fail to do our homework", he says.

The Dart and Allen survey (1993:25) emphasises the need for openness and accessibility to the central figures in religious organisations. According to Gee, churches not making themselves available for comment make the religion reporter's job more difficult. According to David Morrell, the media need contacts who they know are 'media friendly'. Morrell says that the City Mission is always available for comment. Journalists need to be able to 'put through a phone call and get a reply'.

According to the 1993 survey, the church needs to have a good understanding of journalistic ethics and knowledge of the boundaries which separate proper and improper approaches to the media, in order to have intelligent interaction with them (1993:26).

The church's ignorance of journalistic ethics is a reason it often makes the mistake of wanting to 'maintain control over their own stories', according to Stewart Hoover (cited in Dart and Allen 1993: 22). The basics of media relations, he says, involves the church 'giving up control' over what it is trying to say and emphasise (1993: 62).

This view concurs with those of Morrell and Grant. Many churches make the mistake of wanting to remain in control of their stories. They do not realize that they can, however, manage them. This involves essentially two things: developing good working relationships with the media and learning how to write newsworthy articles. According to Morrell, "Many church press statements would run a serious risk of being misinterpreted because the church is not accustomed to that discipline of writing".

According to Bill Moyers of CBS News, (cited in Dart and Allen 1993: 33), 'Religious people lack expertise in articulating their stories for them to be newsworthy. Grant confirms this. The church often presents its stories "in a stolid and inaccessible form", she says. The media need "usable copy".

Mike Hawke, parish priest, says that to be of media interest is "to do what the media require of me". Hawke has 'studied how newspapers write' and "what I write for *The Press* needs to be wacky, different and saleable. I try to be sensational in an orthodox way". But he says that many church people will not sacrifice their integrity'.

According to Grant, the media will never get to know the church if it does not 'step out and initiate a dialogue'. The mistake of the church is that it 'tends to sit there and expect the media to come to it'. Grant says that the media do not work that way. The church is very bad at asking itself what it can do about its difficulty with working with the media in getting its message out into the community.

According to church people I interviewed, the relationship between journalists and the church is an ongoing working relationship which must be based on trust and honesty, respect and efficiency. The media need to know they are not dealing with someone who is trying to put a spin on something.

The Cathedral, the Catholic church, the Salvation Army and missions run by church groups work hard at cultivating relationships with journalists by making regular contact and frequently sending out press releases about their activities, programmes and opinions. In return, the media contact them. Bluck believes that 'It is critical that the church works hard on how it is seen by the media because it is a fundamental issue for church growth and development. If we do not tell our story, we have no one to blame but ourselves'. Roberts agrees. 'If the church believes what it is doing, it will want to tell people about it'.

When I interviewed two Spreydon Baptist administrators, they said they get good coverage in community newspapers which focus on what is happening in the community, of which Spreydon Baptist is a part. But when they occasionally ring *The Press* concerning an important event, there is no interest shown. Other evangelical churches have a similar experience. They view the media as not being interested in their activities or special services. They say that the media make no effort to contact them, despite the media making good revenue from church notices. When I asked if they tried to establish relationships with journalists, they responded, 'how do I go about that?' They say they do not know who to contact in the media, nor how, and *The Press* does not send out any information as to who their contact persons are. The evangelical churches say that if the media were interested, they would make an effort to establish contacts.

Peter Minson, former journalist and current parish priest, says that the church cannot demand attention of journalists if it does not give back to them and does not cooperate. "There must be a synergy". Journalists want to deal with someone "who has done the yards", and who "knows how to do it."

The church fails to lead when controversial issues arise. Madeline Bunting (1996: 4) writes that 'religious institutions are particularly vulnerable to attack and are ill-suited in structure and values to defend themselves in a way that, political parties, for example, do, by hiring spin doctors and learning to manipulate the media. According to the 1993 American survey, churches should consider it necessary and professional to have communication departments as vehicles of outreach. When journalists require comment, they need to be responded to quickly because of deadline pressures. Religious leaders should be accessible to the press (1993: 62).

The New Zealand Salvation Army, the Catholic church and the city missions have clear protocols for both expected and unexpected events and procedures for responding to both expected and unexpected events. They say that these procedures are known to staff handling media enquiries because it is essential to be prepared in order to provide accurate and timely information.

According to Lyndsay Freer, the Catholic church thinks it is essential to speak with one voice, especially in regard to moral issues. The church has a clear policy which cannot be misinterpreted. The Catholic standing on contentious issues is clear for all to see. This is in contrast with the Anglican church, where each synod has a different point of view in regard to moral issues. "The Catholic church is absolute", says Freer, "it does not change".

According to Liz Grant, it is difficult for the Anglican church to have such protocols and to present a public face because it is so pluralistic. Its lack of leadership results in it being not able to present a united face, nor able to present itself as an engaged and vibrant church which welcomes debate. She says that the lack of leadership makes it 'hard for a communications manager to pick up on any message the church should be presenting to the news media'.

According to Campbell Roberts, controversial issues require caution because they can be divisive. It is important to try to split the issues up, such as, moral or legal, to define the differentials. Sometimes, however, 'the media do not allow us to offer the differentials, hence one must be cautious in how information is presented to them because of the risk of dividing people. The church is not like a business or a political party. Therefore, there is a need to consider what everyone thinks, resulting in it not always being possible to speak with one voice. When the Salvation Army states an opinion, it is a leadership statement which does not represent everyone'.

Conclusion

The church's declining profile occurred alongside a change in the style of journalism. In the late 1960s, radio broadcasting improved with a wider variety of stations and television was introduced. This resulted in people becoming more oriented to listening and watching, rather than reading. In order not to lose readers, newspaper writing became more superficial because it was thought that people's attention span

had become shorter. Newspaper articles became more superficial and focused on articles deemed to be important and interesting. Hence, articles about church and religion were reported less.

Discussion arose if newspaper articles influenced people away from the church. However, there was general agreement that journalists reflect the views of the general population.

The deteriorating relationship between the church and the media is due to a number of factors. Journalists and some church people I spoke to agree that the church has found it difficult to acknowledge the changes in society which have occurred through secularisation. One of these changes is that the news media no longer regard the church as a source of news. An exception is the City Mission. It is a source of information because it engages with the community and is knowledgeable about social issues. However, the City Mission is newsworthy for another reason. It does not assume that the church has retained the relationship it had with the media during the nineteenth century. Instead, it has established good working relationships with journalists; it is 'media friendly'. Church people who are media savvy have developed relationships with journalists of mutual trust and respect. They acknowledge that most journalists do not have a working knowledge of church matters. Hence, a relationship of mutual trust and respect facilitates the church getting newspaper coverage it is satisfied with.

However, newspaper coverage of the church which is satisfactory to church groups is often not possible because, to most editors, the church is not deemed to be as important, or as interesting, as other news topics. Therefore, the church needs to work hard at overcoming the media's indifference towards it. There are several factors necessary to achieve this. Firstly, the church theology needs to be relevant to the twenty first century. The church thus needs creative thinkers and people with personality and drive who attract media interest.
Secondly, as mentioned above, the church needs to initiate dialogue with journalists and establish good working relationships.

Thirdly, the church needs to be available and accessible for comment. The church groups which achieve this have media officers who are able to direct press enquiries accordingly in order to facilitate the media getting efficient responses.
However, media officers can only do this efficiently when their church groups have good leadership. Some church groups do not know what to say about many important issues because of the divided viewpoints within their groups. Others, such as the Salvation Army, acknowledge the plurality within it. The Salvation Army also recognises the importance of having ready answers for the media, hence it informs its media officers accordingly.

Fourthly, the church needs to learn the discipline of writing articulate press releases. Fifthly, the church needs to have a working knowledge of news values and what newspapers consider to be newsworthy.

Sixthly, the church needs to have a working knowledge of the constraints newspapers have to work within, such as space on the page, and time restrictions.

Some church people say that the media have influenced people away from the church. However, other church people and the journalists I spoke to agreed that the media reflect the attitudes of the community.

Final Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis concludes by summarising the major findings. It has shown that the church's authority has declined through the forces of secularisation. This has been reflected in three areas: personal autonomy, legislation and in the newspapers.

Church's Loss of Authority Reflected in Personal Autonomy

Firstly, the church's loss of authority has been reflected in personal autonomy, such as in pluralism and the privatisation of faith (noted in chapter one). Personal autonomy has replaced church authority. Factors which contributed to personal autonomy are firstly, materialism which began when the first settlers arrived in the nineteenth century. The pursuit of materialistic values displaced the importance of church life. The second factor which has contributed to personal autonomy is sectarian rivalry which began in the nineteenth century and continues on. This revealed the church as being divided, each group more focused on its own interests rather than those of the community. A third reason for personal autonomy is that the church proved to be irrelevant in people's spiritual quests because it lacked critical inquiry and failed to acknowledge scientific discovery. In keeping to its outdated theology, the church has projected its image as being antiquated and cowardly. A fourth factor contributing to personal autonomy is the church showing itself to be irrelevant to the needs of the community by its narrow focus on moral issues and its reluctance to use the power it once had to initiate social reform. Another secular change the church is still finding difficult to adapt to is that it is no longer the authority which had state power in the community.

Church's Loss of Authority Reflected in Legislation

Secondly, the decline of the church's authority has been reflected in legislation in regard to moral and social issues (noted in chapter one). Following 1960, Christian principles began to fade as pluralism was increasingly acknowledged. Sunday trading became legalised. Fewer people were getting married, de facto relationships became legally acceptable. Homosexuality was no longer a criminal offence. In 1990, New Zealand was officially recognised as a pluralistic country, rather than a Christian one.

Church's Loss of Authority Reflected in the Newspapers

Thirdly, the decline of the church's authority has been reflected in the Canterbury newspapers which were studied for this research (noted in chapter three). The media report on what is of interest to the general public and reflect the viewpoints of the majority (noted in chapter four). For example, in 1880, the newspapers reflected the church's point of view being shared by the majority when they portrayed the Mormons as deviant (noted in chapters two and three). This reflected their minority status, there being no Mormons recorded in the census figures for 1881 (see Appendix A). From 1960 to 2000, there is a huge decline of media interest in the church and religion. In 2000, there are no newspaper articles of

Christian religious content, reflecting the census figures for 2001 which record those professing 'no religion' to be the highest in numbers.

Secular forces have eroded the church's importance in the community which is reflected in the newspapers (noted in chapter four). The newspapers' portrayal of the church as 'fuddy-duddy' and irrelevant can be explained in part by secularisation; the desire for personal autonomy. Newspapers shape stories according to cultural perceptions which are familiar to, and accepted by readers. This may explain why church leaders say they are stereotyped by the media. However, journalists who were interviewed for this research said that they were not aware of the church being stereotyped. This reflects, perhaps, that journalists are aware of the public's perceptions. It may also suggest the journalists' role in shaping public perceptions, without them being aware they do so. Yet, it also indicates how 'out of touch' many church representatives are.

From 1920, newspapers had begun to reflect the growing trend of people losing interest in the traditional church by reporting more about Jewish and other faiths. This indicates the disappointments people had experienced with the church being irrelevant to their needs during the Prohibition campaign, the wars and in labour issues (noted in chapters one and three).

The newspapers in 1920 reflect also the populations's confidence in the traditional church being transferred to non-traditional church groups, such as the Salvation Army (noted in chapter three). For example, the Salvation Army General Booth was appealed to for reassurance amidst the fear of communism and anarchy. A further indication of the traditional church losing credibility was people seeking General Booth's views on issues which were of concern to the Prohibition campaign. Booth was also a popular and celebrated figure who spoke authoritatively on vital current issues of concern. Another example of a non-traditional but authoritative church figure who attracted media interest was Billy Graham in 1960. Unfortunately, the church now lacks such personalities, leaders and creative thinkers who are of interest to journalists.

News Sources

Such figures are recognised by journalists as authoritative sources (noted in chapter two). The selection of news sources is vital in the news production process. Authoritative sources give news credibility. They are also considered to have authority to propose solutions and offer comment on societal problems. Church groups which do this maintain a position of power because they are seen to be contributing to the good of society. Current examples are missions run by church groups, such as the City Mission and the Salvation Army. Until the late 1960s, the church was seen as an authority in another sense; it was used by the state to establish morals in order to produce 'good' society (noted in chapter one).

Sources also need to be articulate (noted in chapters two and four). They must present their points clearly in order to be understood, not in a "stolid and inaccessible form". Many church press releases are written in an undisciplined manner which lend them to either being interpreted in a variety of ways or ignored. Articulate communication is further facilitated by the church sharing similar values with journalists, including the dominant cultural values.

If the church wants to be considered a source of news, it needs to be a productive source (noted in chapters two and four). Productive sources provide a lot of information without demanding too much time or effort from the journalist. An example is the City Missioner, David Morrell. He claims that journalists were ringing him more often than he could send out press releases about social issues and "what the Mission was doing".

News Values

Also vital in the news production process is the employment of news values (noted in chapters two and four). Contrary to the opinions of many church representatives, journalists do not have an agenda to portray the church inadequately or negatively. Many reporters are personally interested in church stories. Their personal interest can facilitate church stories being reported. However, journalists' personal interest is not enough; stories for newspapers are selected and shaped according to news values.

The dominant news value for the majority of church stories in this research is 'conflict' (noted in chapter three and Appendix B). However, a less dominant news value in some of these 'conflict' stories is 'the extent of impact', rarely used in church stories. Newspapers reflected this news value in 1920 with the involvement of a Catholic church dignitary in Labour concerns in Australia, America and Britain (noted in chapter three). Associated with the Catholic Archbishop were fears expressed in New Zealand, especially by the Anglican church of anarchy and communism. The 'extent of impact' was reflected again in 1960 when the church in South Africa was involved in the apartheid issue. This extended to New Zealand, with conflicting church views regarding selection processes for the New Zealand All Black rugby team which was scheduled to play in South Africa.

A more recent example of the news value, 'extent of impact' was in 2003, following the terrorist attacks, allegedly committed by Muslims, in America. This incident attracted world wide attention and received wide coverage in all media outlets. The newspapers published articles about Islam and issues concerning mosques in Christchurch. The Muslim Association often featured in newspaper reports. However, media interest in Islam lasted only a few months. Ola Kamel, spokesperson for the Muslim Association in Christchurch, was disappointed that media interest in Islam had a narrow focus and was short-lived. She also expressed difficulties similar to those of other church people interviewed for this research, about the inaccuracy of reporting and the limited interest journalists had about Islam (noted in chapter four).

Conflict-oriented news reports are often shaped by the news values simplification and clarity (noted in chapter two). These present a quick, simple message which separate out the ambiguities and complexities. 'Simplification' and 'clarity' also explain why the religious component is often missing from a story, or why religion is rarely reported. Religion is seldom a clear and simple message, therefore often not suitable for newspapers. A reason for religion being too complex for newspaper reports is due to secular forces having distanced the church. This has resulted in many journalists not knowing about or understanding religious concepts, hence they are omitted (noted in chapter four).

Another reason for the journalistic preference for clear and simple articles is that people's attention spans have become shorter (noted in chapter four). This is said to have occurred from the late 1960s due to television and the improvement in radio broadcasting. The style of newspaper reporting changed in order to survive in an environment which had suddenly become competitive due to television and improved radio networks.

Understanding the Lack of Religious News in Newspapers

The change in the style of journalism brought a change in 'news values' with an added focus on conflict, action and human interest (noted in chapter four). These news values often do not encompass church news. For example, the church tends to shy away from conflict, hence the church tends not to be newsworthy. Yet, this explains why church stories are reported more frequently with the emphasis on conflict, even though conflict was not apparent in the original situation. Prior to the late 1960s, many of these 'conflict' stories used to be shaped by the news values, 'order' or 'disorder'. For example, in 1920, the Canterbury newspapers reflected a strong interest in church involvement in labour concerns. They reported the Methodist and Presbyterian churches lobbying the government about indentured labour and poor employment conditions. These stories contrasted to newspaper reports about the church lobbying the government during the 1990s and 2004 about social and political concerns (noted in chapter one). The dominant news value reflected in many of these stories was 'conflict' in which the church was criticised for interfering in politics.

The occasional church story which is shaped by the news value moral order, tends to be associated with other news values. An example is the Catholic church, in trying to uphold its moral stance on abortion, is encouraging unwed couples to use artificial contraception. An associated news value could be the 'unexpected'.

The recent media focus on action is another aspect for which church news is often unsuitable. Action is not found in normal church activity. John Bluck and Barry Corbett are in the minority of church representatives who employ these news values. Human interest is another news value which does not reflect the nature of church matters. Human interest indicates a shift in focus from the church and spiritual matters to the self. This is an effect of materialism, which has displaced Christian values.

The church groups which have acknowledged the change in newspaper reporting are in the minority. The City Mission and the Salvation Army are examples of the few church groups which have acknowledged that the relationship between the church and the media has changed from how it was during the nineteenth century.

The question arises as to whether, from the church's perspective, coverage shaped by news values is preferable to no coverage at all. Yet, it is also important to consider the words of John Bluck, that "it is critical for the church to work hard on how it is seen by the media because it is a fundamental issue for church growth and development" (2001).

Conclusion:

Revitalising Communication between Church and Media

If the church wants to gain positive newspaper coverage, it must, firstly, acknowledge that it is now distanced from society of which the news media is a part. As a result, most journalists are not knowledgeable about church matters, nor do they have any motivation to be. This is a reason for inaccurate reporting and also for some journalists' prejudice against the church. Hence the church must initiate and cultivate good working relationships with journalists based on mutual trust and respect.

Revitalising the relationship between the church and the media may facilitate more positive reports about church groups. A good working relationship demands that the church understands the constraints journalists have to work under, such as time and space. Conceivably, journalists respond more positively to those who have an understanding of journalistic conventions.

The use of media officers to facilitate effective communication may help church groups to regain a satisfactory voice in the media for the future.

Appendix A

Table III.16 Religious Professions 1858–1976 (Maoris excluded to 1951)

Source: Census reports.

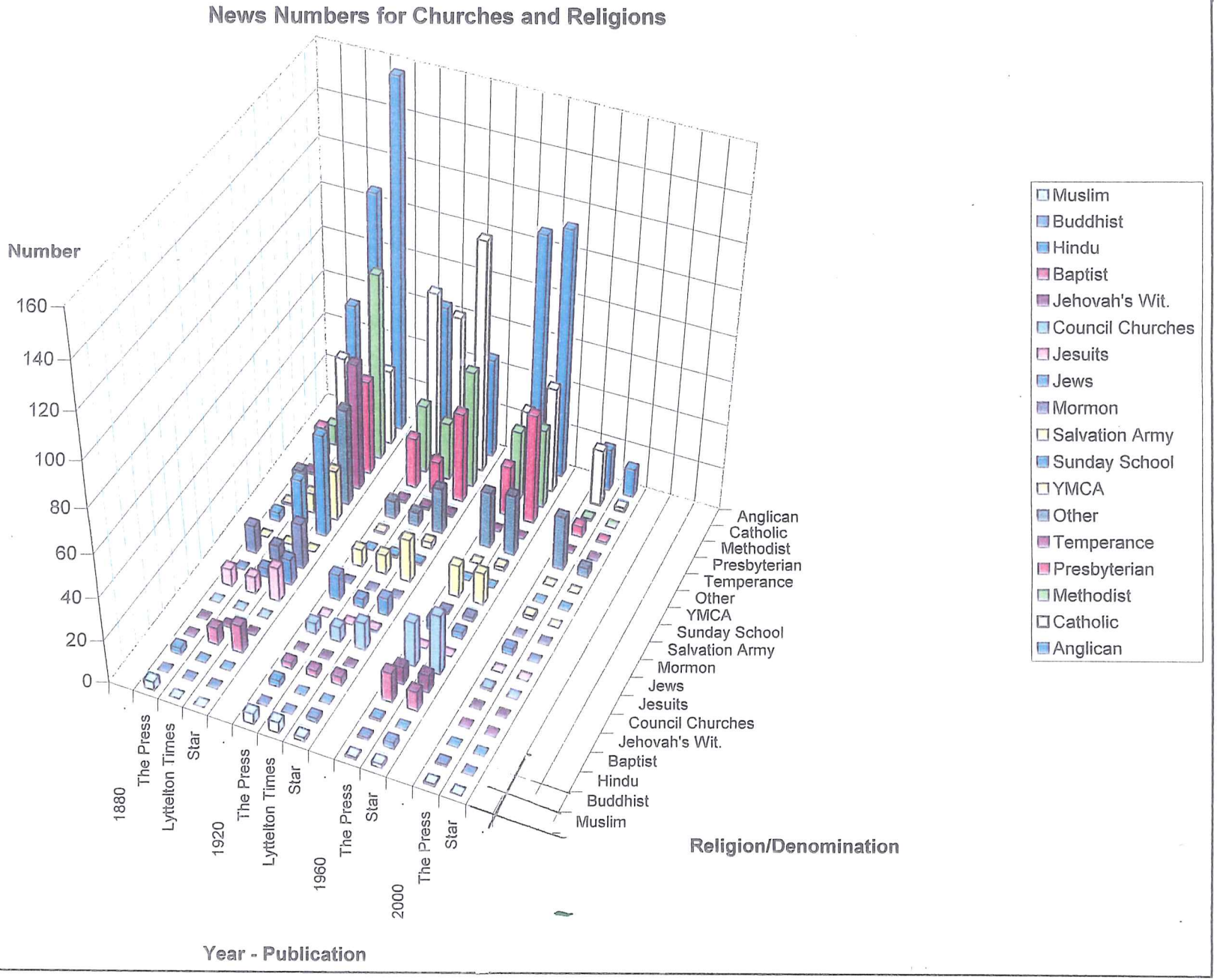
	Anglican[a]	Presbyterian[b]	Roman Catholic[c]	Methodist[d]	Baptist	Ratana	Latter Day Saints[f]	Brethren	Salvation Army	Seventh Day Adventist	Other[g]	Object to State	Not specified	TOTAL
1858	30,492	11,513	6,592	5,950	1,259						3,015		592	59,4
1861	44,451	21,207	10,870	8,394	1,058						12,141		(h)	99,0
1864	73,118	42,058	21,507	13,846	3,391						15,620		2,618	172,1
1867	92,990	54,929	30,413	18,001	4,353						16,230		1,752	218,6
1871	102,389	63,624	35,608	21,854	4,732						18,694	8,630	862	256,3
1874	127,171	72,477	40,371	25,219	6,335						20,206	6,760	955	299,5
1878	176,337	95,103	58,881	37,879	9,159						24,746	10,564	1,743	414,4
1881	203,333	113,108	68,984	46,657	11,476						31,068	13,978	1,329	489,5
1886	232,369	130,643	80,715	55,292	14,357			3,179	5,275		33,893	19,889	2,869	578,4
1891	253,331	141,477	87,272	63,415	14,825			3,537	9,383		36,788	15,342	1,288	626,
1896	282,809	159,952	98,804	73,367	16,037			5,035	10,532		39,735	15,967	1,122	703,
1901	315,263	176,503	109,822	83,802	16,035			7,484	7,999		36,634	18,295	882	772,
1906	368,065	203,597	126,995	89,038	17,747		279	7,901	8,389	990	39,368	24,325	1,884	888,
1911	411,689	234,662	140,523	94,827	20,042		365	7,865	9,707	1,113	49,354	35,905	2,416	1,008,
1916	459,023	260,659	151,606	106,024	20,872		315	9,758	10,004	1,534	50,101	25,577	3,976	1,099,
1921	514,607	299,545	164,133	112,344	19,926		443	11,055	11,591	2,224	42,718	38,591	1,736	1,218,
1926	553,993	330,731	173,364	121,212	21,955		599	12,973	12,241	2,873	44,970	62,585	6,973	1,344,
1936	600,786	367,855	195,261	121,012	25,703		745	17,260	12,608	3,825	61,422	71,302	14,705	1,491,
1945	601,786	374,956	215,629	130,220	27,512		1,247	18,629	13,203	4,956	80,900	126,426	8,090	1,603
1951[i]	727,626	446,333	264,555	156,077	31,518	17,414	10,008	21,398	13,607	6,159	96,729	137,596	10,451	1,939
1956	780,999	438,884	310,723	161,823	33,910	19,570	13,133	22,444	14,122	7,219	136,414	173,569	16,252	2,174
1961	835,434	539,459	364,098	173,838	40,886	23,126	17,978	25,764	15,454	8,220	152,473	204,056	14,198	2,414
1966	901,701	582,976	425,280	186,260	46,748	27,570	25,564	23,139	17,737	9,551	200,242	210,851	19,300	2,676
1971	895,839	583,701	449,974	182,727	47,350	30,156	29,785	25,768	19,371	10,477	236,931	247,019	103,533	2,862
1976	915,202	566,569	478,530	173,526	49,442	35,082	36,130	24,414	22,019	11,958	338,620	438,511	39,380	3,129

Notes:

(a) Church of England.
(b) Includes Church of Scotland and other Presbyterians.
(c) Includes Catholic undefined.
(d) Includes Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists united in 1913.
(e) A Maori sect founded in the early 1920s by Wiremu Ratana.
(f) Mormons. The large increase in 1951 is a result of the addition of the Maori adherents.
(g) Other includes the smaller Christian denominations such as Congregation, Church of Christ, Lutheran; various undefined Christians and Protestants as well as small numbers of non Christian religions. Agnostic and atheist are also included.
(h) Included in "Other."
(i) Maoris included in 1951 and subsequent years.

Table 6.4 Religious affiliation[1]

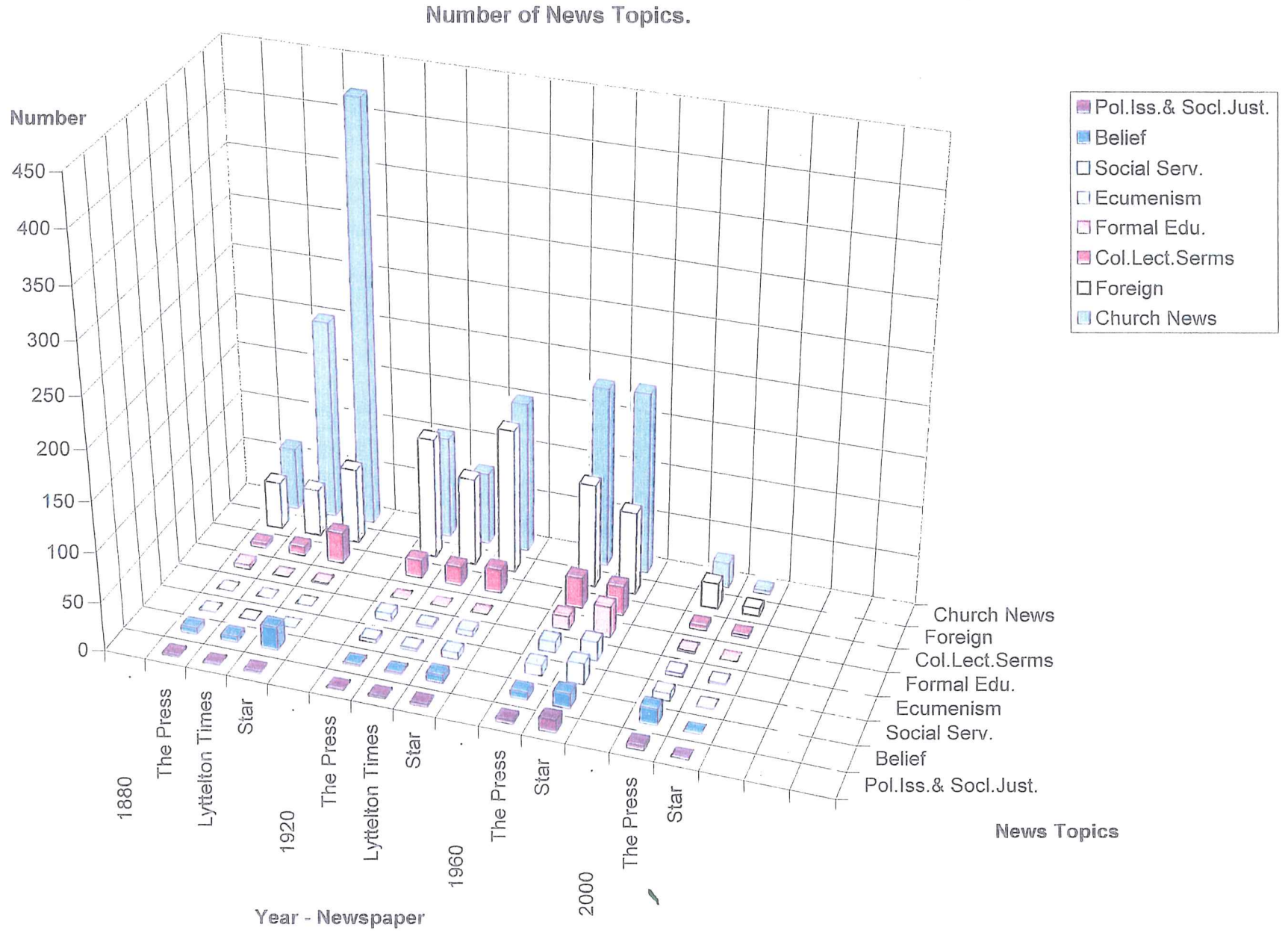
Religious affiliation (total responses)	*Census ye 2001*
Buddhist	41,634
Anglican	584,793
Catholic	486,012
Presbyterian, Congregational and Reformed	431,547
Christian nfd[2]	192,165
Methodist	120,705
Pentecostal[3]	67,239
Baptist	51,426
Latter-day Saints	39,912
Brethren	20,406
Jehovah's Witness	17,826
Adventist	14,868
Salvation Army	12,618
Evangelical, Born Again and Fundamentalist	11,019
Orthodox	9,588
Lutheran	4,314
Other Christian	3,558
Church of Christ and Associated Churches of Christ	3,270
Protestant nfd	2,784
Uniting/Union Church and Ecumenical	1,389
Asian Christian	195
Hindu	39,798
Islam/Muslim	23,631
Judaism/Jewish	6,636
Māori Christian	63,597
Spiritualism and New Age Religions	16,062
Other religions	18,783
No religion	1,028,052
Object to answering	239,244
Total people	**3,468,813**


News Numbers for Churches and Religions
Number
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1880
1920
1960
2000
The Press
Lyttelton Times
Star
Year - Publication
Anglican
Catholic
Methodist
Presbyterian
Temperance
Other
YMCA
Sunday School
Salvation Army
Mormon
Jews
Jesuits
Council Churches
Jehovah's Wit.
Baptist
Hindu
Buddhist
Muslim
Religion/Denomination
Muslim
Buddhist
Hindu
Baptist
Jehovah's Wit.
Council Churches
Jesuits
Jews
Mormon
Salvation Army
Sunday School
YMCA
Other
Temperance
Presbyterian
Methodist
Catholic
Anglican

Appendix B

Raw Data: Christchurch Religions & Denominations.

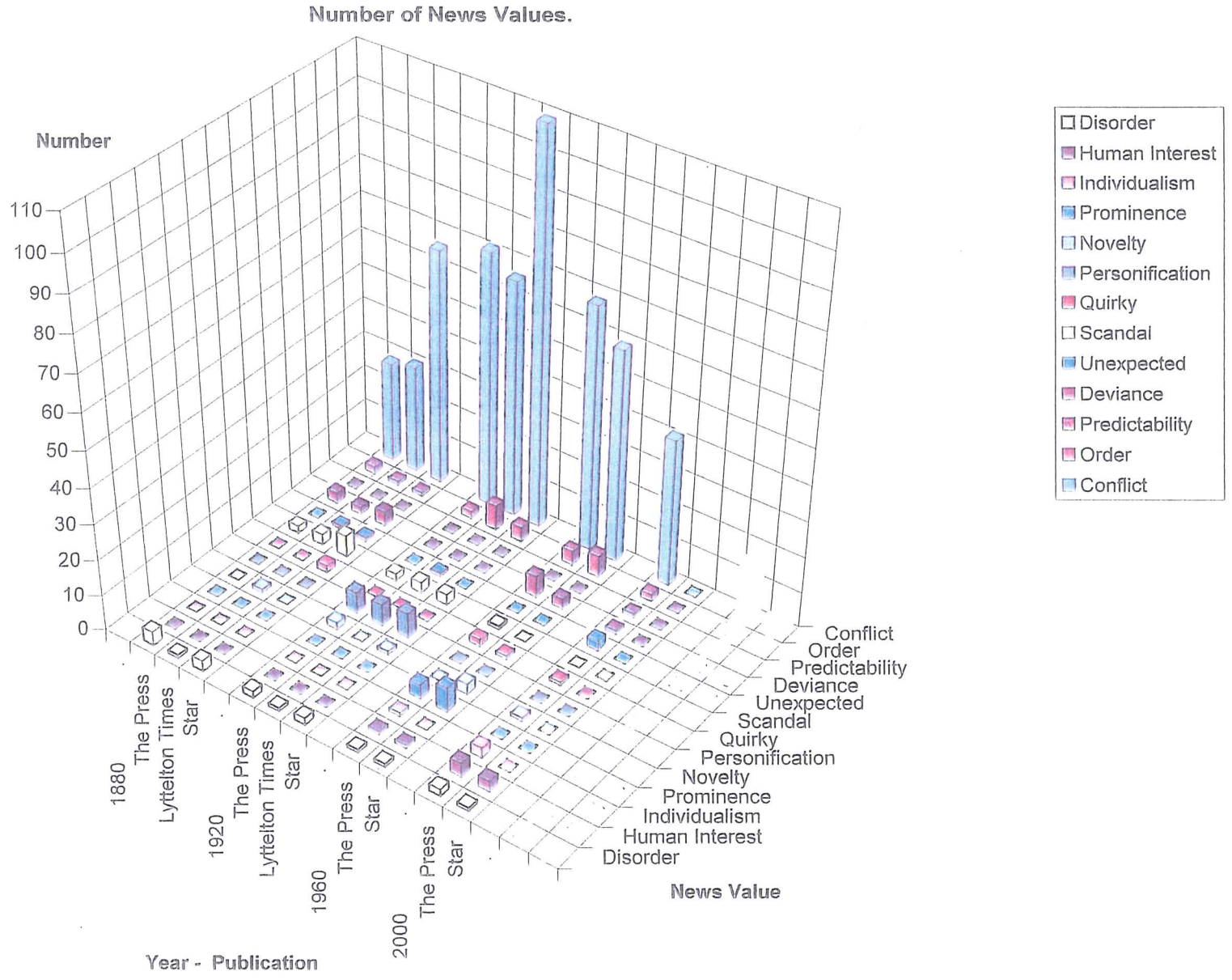
Church/Relig. No.s	Anglican	Baptist	Catholic	Council Churches	Jehovah's Wit.	Jesuits	Jews	Methodist	Mormon	Presbyterian	Salvation Army	Sunday School	Temperance	YMCA	Other	Buddhist	Hindu	Muslim
1880																		
The Press	52	0	34	0	0	8	0	9	13	15	0	4	1	1	9	0	3	4
Lyttelton Times	106	8	23	0	0	8	4	26	7	22	0	23	3	9	16	0	0	0
Star	157	13	34	0	0	16	12	85	21	43	0	47	58	23	44	0	0	0
1920																		
The Press	63	3	76	5	0	0	12	31	0	23	8	0	1	1	8	0	3	5
Lyttelton Times	34	3	68	7	0	0	4	26	0	15	9	1	1	0	6	0	0	5
Star	45	4	105	13	0	1	8	53	0	41	20	1	1	3	21	2	0	2
1960																		
The Press	107	14	34	21	8	0	6	32	1	23	15	0	0	0	26	1	1	1
Star	112	9	48	28	8	0	3	36	2	50	15	0	0	2	28	3	0	2
2000																		
The Press	19	0	26	1	0	0	3	1	0	5	2	0	0	0	25	1	0	1
Star	13	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0


Number of News Topics.
Number
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Pol.Iss.& Socl.Just.
Belief
Social Serv.
Ecumenism
Formal Edu.
Col.Lect.Serms
Foreign
Church News
1880
The Press
Lyttelton Times
Star
1920
The Press
Lyttelton Times
Star
1960
The Press
Star
2000
The Press
Star
Year - Newspaper
Church News
Foreign
Col.Lect.Serms
Formal Edu.
Ecumenism
Social Serv.
Belief
Pol.Iss.& Socl.Just.
News Topics

Appendix B

Raw Data: News Topics

News Topics	Church News	Col.Lect.Serms	Foreign	Social Serv.	Pol.Iss.& Socl.Just.	Formal Edu.	Belief	Ecumenism
1880								
The Press	63	5	48	1	2	5	7	0
Lyttelton Times	199	9	48	0	1	0	6	0
Star	422	31	76	0	2	1	24	0
1920								
The Press	102	18	121	4	1	0	2	8
Lyttelton Times	73	19	88	3	2	0	2	3
Star	151	24	144	7	3	0	8	6
1960								
The Press	180	31	104	11	4	14	8	11
Star	182	30	83	21	13	32	15	19
2000								
The Press	25	5	26	8	5	2	17	4
Star	4	3	8	1	0	0	0	2


Number of News Values.
Number
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1880
1920
1960
2000
The Press
Lyttelton Times
Star
Year - Publication
Conflict
Order
Predictability
Deviance
Unexpected
Scandal
Quirky
Personification
Novelty
Prominence
Individualism
Human Interest
Disorder
News Value
Disorder
Human Interest
Individualism
Prominence
Novelty
Personification
Quirky
Scandal
Unexpected
Deviance
Predictability
Order
Conflict

Appendix B

Raw Data: News Values.

News Values	Conflict	Order	Disorder	Human Interest	Individualism	Prominence	Novelty	Personification	Quirky	Scandal	Unexpected	Deviance	Predictability
1880													
The Press	28	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0
Lyttelton Times	30	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	2	0
Star	66	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	1	4	0
1920													
The Press	71	2	2	0	0	0	2	6	0	2	0	0	0
Lyttelton Times	66	7	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	3	1	0	0
Star	109	4	2	0	0	0	1	7	0	3	0	0	0
1960													
The Press	68	4	1	1	1	4	0	0	2	1	0	6	0
Star	59	6	1	1	0	7	3	0	1	0	0	3	0
2000													
The Press	41	2	2	4	3	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	1
Star	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

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